Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-90-189 *28 September 1990*

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Government Delegation Attends IAEA Meeting

AU2509184890 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] The proceedings of the 34th general conference of the International Atomic Energy Authority [IAEA] took place in Vienna on 17-21 September. A delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania also took part in this conference, headed by Professor Luan Omari, academic secretary of the Academy of Sciences, who spoke at the conference's plenary session. The conference examined the achievements of the IAEA's goals for 1990 and laid down future plans for the development and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

Alia Arrives in New York, Makes Statement

AU2709131290 Tirana ATA in English 1701 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Text] Tirana, September 25 (ATA)—Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who will take part in the general debate of the UN Assembly which opened on September 24, arrived in New York on September 25.

Accompanied by the minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Reis Malile, and the director of the International Relations Study Institute, Prof. Sofokli Lazri, Comrade Ramiz Alia was received by senior official personalities of the UNO [United Nations Organization]; the vice minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani; the permanent representative of Albania in the UNO, Bashkim Pitarka.

Present in the "John Kennedy" Airport of New York were also many compatriots residing in the U.S.

After meeting and greeting them cordially, Comrade Ramiz Alia made the following statement before the foreign and local reporters, who had come in the airport on this occasion:

"We have come to New York with sincere desire to see Albania, along with the other states of the international community, making its modest contribution to this commemorative session of the United Nations General Assembly, as well as the World Summit for Children.

This General Assembly session assumes particular importance because it is holding its proceedings at a time when dynamic developments are unfolding on the international political life which give people hope for a better world. At the same time, however, we are all concerned about the new events that are taking place in the Middle East, and I am referring specifically to Iraq's aggression on Kuwait, which Albania has sternly condemned.

The Albanian people and their government are following with keen attention and interest the activity of the United Nations Organisation. They highly appraise its role and contribution to uniting the efforts of international community for the easing of international tension, the avoidance of war, the strengthening of dialogue, disarmament, the abolishment of colonialism and racial discrimination, the defence of freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples.

Albania supports all those initiatives and action that make their contribution in this direction.

Albania's foreign policy is for friendship with other peoples and states, for broad and fruitful cooperation on the basis of the principles of equality, noninterference in one another's internal affairs and mutual respect.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express my satisfaction for having come to New York at a time when significant positive steps have already been taken in the relations between Albania and the United States of America. I cannot fail to mention the special pleasure I feel, because on this occasion I will have the possibility to meet my compatriots who are working and living in the United States and who constitute a factor of friendship between the Albanian people and the American people."

Conservatives', Antidemocrats' Views Criticized

AU2609084690 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 17 Sep 90 pp 2-3

[Dr. Sali Berisha article: "Democracy and Humanism—An Inseparable Pair"]

[Excerpts] The democratization of our life is a historical imperative of the times in which we live. The decisions of the recent party Central Committee plenums and their embodiment in a series of decrees by the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the government have been important steps in deepening the inexorable and irreversible development of this decisive process for our future and the advance and development of our society on the road of all-round social, economic, and cultural progress. These processes are strengthening still more firmly our people's relations and ties with other peoples, and are helping Albania's prestige, reputation, and its ever-increasing integration in progressive developments in Europe and the world.

However, democratic processes in our country are, at the same time, a valuable contribution to the struggle of our brothers in Kosovo. This struggle will remain beyond compare in the history of modern civilization for the human ideals it has defended; for the participation of all the people from seven to 70 in accordance with an ancient Albanian freedom-loving principle; for its duration from the seventies of the last century until today; for the number of those who have fallen; greater than in any other part of this continent, for the youth of its martyrs, younger than in any other democratic revolution of liberation, and for its endurance, maturity, and civilized

spirit. As for the policies, ideology, methods, and dimensions of the repressions, massacres, and acts of extermination perpetrated by the Great Serbs against the Albanian population, they will be unmatched in the annals of barbarism and human oppression. These democratic processes are also warmly welcomed not only by Albanians who live on their own territories, but by those who have settled on foreign soil, by the entire Albanian diaspora.

Seen from this point of view, the democratization of the life of our country is an essential process for the Albanian cause as a whole, for strengthening the moral and spiritual unity of our nation, and achieving a stable national result. It is precisely here that these developments have a major patriotic dimension; however, the major tasks these developments pose and the new horizons they open up also have their origin here. [passage omitted]

Although the broad masses and the overwhelming majority of working people among us see the democratization of our society a decisive process for the country's present and future, there are antidemocratic and conservative elements which take an opposite view. These are, in fact, neither few in number nor impotent in respect of the power they exert. These forces are not concentrated in a single generation, and least of all in the generation which waged the war. Those who, in their youth, shouldered arms for national freedom and human dignity cannot, as a rule, take any different view of individual freedoms and rights.

It is first of all bureaucratized cadres and employees who have created and allowed themselves unfair privileges who are conservatives and antidemocrats. Now that the time has come for them to surrender these things, these people, like those unfortunate persons who concoct a lie and end up believing it themselves, think that these privileges are fair—even that these privileges are their birthright. However, the keen and clinical diagnostic eye of that great doctor, the people, almost never errs.

All fanatical and intolerant people, and those who, instead of pluralism of thought, prefer monism (and probably their own monism) are doubtless antidemocrats. There can, however, be no democracy without democrats. Uniformity of thought is fraught with dire social consequences. It makes thinking uniform, and like all uniforms (in the health service, in the army, etc.) it hides more than it reveals. "As many opinions as heads," says a Latin proverb, thus best expressing the eternally pluralist character of human thought. A monist meeting hall, auditorium, assembly, or society is a pure illusion.

It is also difficult for demagogues to abandon dogmas, obsolete practices, and prejudices. Of course, they may put themselves forward to others as great debaters, but they cannot be so if they do not respect the force of arguments and the views of others, but spout slogans, slurs, and insults. Dogmatists and conservatives, however, must not ignore the fact that the psychology of a people in which the overwhelmingly dominant age group is that of youth—in other words, a society like ours which is on close terms with its young people—cannot reconcile itself to dogmas, prejudices, and obsolete ideas and practices.

Democratic process also strike terror into all those who do not respect the law and who think that the new criteria and standards only apply to others. The first step of democracy, however, means that everybody must rigorously respect the laws, standards, and regulations which have been decided by the majority.

Conservatives and antidemocrats may also be employees and cadres who feel they are the masters of democracy, or consider it a kind of varnish which they idealistically paint on their work, forgetting that democracy, being the power of the people, has its home among the people and springs from their spirit.

A significant number of parasites and those who have been "borne aloft" on the wings of cronies also join the conservative forces. Democratic processes close off many such avenues.

In a word, for almost all these people, democratization is not only a source of great pain, but real social agony. They, therefore, blindly try various means to hamper, slow down, and even prevent the development of such processes among us. Under these circumstances, open discussions which sound peoples' views and opinions assume particular importance. Among us today, various methods are used to achieve this, from street interviews on the television, which say what they say, down to the many meetings and articles, of which there have been plenty. [passage omitted]

5,000 Protest Intention To Send Troops to Gulf

AU2709193290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] As reported by BTA, about 700 Bulgarians in Iraq and more than 5,000 of their relatives in Bulgaria protest the eventual deployment of Bulgarian troops to the Persian Gulf area, an appeal of the List of Bulgarians in Iraq Initiative Committee to the Grand National Assembly reads. The appeal maintains that the government, the president, and the Grand National Assembly has not adopted any essential measures to help the Bulgarians in Iraq return to our country. The initiative committee asks for the declaration of a moratorium on sending Bulgarian troops to the Persian Gulf area because the fate of the Bulgarians in Iraq will be jeopardized. The initiative committee demands that a government delegation be sent to Iraq, which should ensure that all Bulgarians in Iraq are returned safely to Bulgaria.

Lukanov Returns From Successful Visit to USSR

600,000 Tons of Oil Due in Sep

AU2709120190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1025 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Interview with Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov by Valeri Todorov, at Sofia airport on 27 September—recorded]

[Text] [Question indistinct]?

[Lukanov] We should point out immediately that this means a drastic deterioration of trade conditions with the Soviet Union for us, considering that we were favored through an artificial price system in the past, according to which we were overpaid by 1.5 or 1 billion (?rubles). We should now try to guarantee conditions in the banking services that will prevent Bulgarian and Soviet enterprises and companies from being affected, and to facilitate smooth commercial transactions. Through the banks we should establish a system to assist financial settlements, with a view to achieving an approximate balance of deliveries within the framework of our overall exchange of goods. This does not mean that we are expected to introduce the clearing system.

Unfortunately, the initial agreement reached in March 1990 no longer applies and we will hardly be able to obtain the most advantageous conditions. I repeat, nevertheless, that we intend to seek technical solutions that will permit our commercial transactions to be implemented unhindered by the difficulties that would arise if each individual organization were forced to provide such large amounts of currency resources without assistance. Therefore, we can say that the role of the banking system will be of decisive importance.

[Todorov] The Russian prime minister mentioned some kind of special relationship between our two countries. Was this subject pointed out in your negotiations?

[Lukanov] This was mentioned by Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Ryzhkov, and also by RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Prime Minister Ivan Silayev. The meaning of this remark, as far as I understand, is that the Soviet side will take into consideration both the former existing close relations between our two countries in all spheres—especially in the economic sector—and our long-standing traditions of friendship irrespective of all party preferences. Considering the fact that the Bulgarian economy was particularly specialized and closely integrated with the Soviet economy over the last decades, a sudden interruption of our traditional relations would cause greater difficulties for our country than is the case with some other Eastern European countries.

All this was taken into account and I received very clear assurances in this respect.

[Todorov] Did the visit justify your expectations? Can you say a few words on this subject?

[Lukanov] Talking about expectations, I must say that there were various expectations. As for my personal expectations, they were justified, because I realize how complicated the situation is. In this context I think that prerequisites exist for further maintaining our relations with the Soviet Union in their essential aspects. These relations are vitally important for us and will continue to play a major role. There is no alternative to them in our present economic situation, and everyone should clearly understand this. Our political contacts mapped out a solid basis on which this can be implemented, they also suggested specific solutions. From this point on, I repeat, it is up to us to provide guarantees, within the framework of our agreements, for pursuing our relations with the Soviet Union and for obtaining some basic raw materials and energy sources from the USSR, though the amount will be reduced compared with the past.

For example, in September 1990, we are expecting the delivery of approximately 600,000 tons of oil from the USSR, and we hope that this level of deliveries can be more or less maintained for the next half year, and that it may even be slightly increased, if possible.

Able To Guarantee Winter Supplies

AU2709134390 Sofia BTA in English 1306 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Sep (BTA)—On his arrival here, Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov stated that his visit to Moscow lived up to his expectations. He told journalists it was possible to guarantee the normal raw materials and power supply in the winter months, because it had been agreed that Bulgaria would receive 600,000 tons of oil per month, which means that in the last three months of this year the country would get almost two million tons. The quantities of fuel oil specified in this year's protocol on trade will also be supplied. But at the same time the prime minister pointed out that it would be

possible only if the country gives the respective guarantees that it will fulfill its obligations, the non-fulfillment of which at the moment amounts to 200 million rubles.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov appreciated especially highly the readiness of the Soviet side to look upon its relations with Bulgaria as important for the USSR and the position that the bilateral relations should be maintained in the conditions of the dramatic changes in the socioeconomic development of the two countries. The two sides' positions on the schedule of deliveries in the coming months were clarified in order to ensure the minimum which would guarantee the normal functioning of the Bulgarian economy, the power generation and its household application in particular. We are on the point of reaching an agreement on the future mechanisms of our economic relations during the transition to market-orientated cooperation, Mr. Lukanov said. The transition to the settlement of payments in convertible currency will cost Bulgaria two milliard rubles, that is why special attention at the talks was paid to finding such ways which would be acceptable for the Bulgarian economy. In this respect banks would play a special role. The Soviet side will take into account the two countries' close relations in all spheres, the deep links of the two economies and their close integration and specialization due to which, as Mr. Lukanov said, Bulgaria faces the heaviest odds in the Eastern bloc on her way to a market economy. Payments will be settled in convertible currency only, the two sides give up even the clearing system.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov underlined, that Bulgaria's relations with the Soviet Union are of vital importance for her development and that they will be further promoted along with the relations with the United States and other countries in the world.

President Zhelev's Meetings in Washington Noted

AU2709125390 Sofia BTA in English 1117 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Washington, 27 Sep (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev's meetings in Washington are continued. Yesterday an announcement drew the attention of the public and was met with a reverberating response by the political circles: The announcement that Bulgaria is ready to send a limited military contingent in Saudi Arabia within the framework of the international security forces. The news was circulated after Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev's visit to the U.S. Congress, where he had a meeting with the members of the International Relations Commission of the House of Representatives. Some hours later it was confirmed by the Bulgarian leader during his discussion at the International Club in Washington.

The spokesman for Bulgaria's president explained that initially the idea was to send a military medical unit, but later on it was decided to send a sapper unit for sweeping mines.

By yesterday evening Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev had already had twenty meetings in Washington. In the meantime some important details concerning the contents of the discussions he had became known. According to the spokesman for the president, one of the purposes of the meeting with Dr. Richard Sullivan, U.S. secretary of health and human services, was to ask for assistance and aid in the form of medicines. The U.S. Department of Health is ready for cooperation in a more distant future.

At the U.S. Department of Commerce interest was shown in the prospects of private business in Bulgaria, the possibility of adopting new laws allowing the free movement of capitals and in what guarantees foreign investments would be provided with.

At the International Relations Commission of the U.S. House of Representatives interest was shown in the situation of human rights in Bulgaria and the rights of the Turkish minority in particular. Satisfaction was expressed with the progress made in this field. The American side highly evaluated Bulgaria's position on the Gulf crisis. According to the spokesman for the President, understanding was shown as to the fact that Bulgaria was the most severely hit of all European countries. President Zhelev pointed out, "We are witnessing something that is a landmark in modern history: all great powers are unanimous on a problem and maybe this is a prerequisite for the future planetary guarantees of the security of all".

The Bulgarian head of state had a meeting at the U.S. Congress with the leader of the Republicans, Mr. Robert Dole, who showed understanding for the serious problems Bulgaria faces.

The meeting President Zhelyu Zhelev had with Mr. Richard Thornburgh, U.S. attorney-general, was attended by the director of the FBI. The U.S. attorney-general was particularly interested in the process of depolitization of Bulgaria's most important ministries and underlined that the future attitude of the United States towards Bulgaria depended on the adoption of the Law of Depolitization by the Grand National Assembly.

The Bulgarian president had a long talk with Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinsky. They exchanged views on the present and the future of the East European countries, Bulgaria included.

Later on Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev had a meeting at the International Club in Washington, the members of which are prominent American politicians, businessmen and high ranking diplomats.

Agreement Signed With Peace Corps

AU2709185890 Sofia BTA in English 1751 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Washington, 27 Sep (BTA correspondent)—Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of Bulgaria, today attended the signing of an agreement on cooperation between the American Peace Corps and Bulgaria. The president made the following statement at the ceremony: "The cooperation agreement with the Peace Corps opens a

new page in the relations between Bulgaria and the United States. We carefully studied the clauses of this document, and we are prepared to observe them strictly and, moreover, to create all necessary conditions for the operation of the corps in Bulgaria. The signing of this document expands the cultural and humanitarian ties between the two countries and in this way our country has the opportunity to join on a full-fledged basis the family of civilized nations."

The cooperation agreement envisages assistance in the learning of English, sharing experience in agriculture, in the management of small and medium-sized businesses and in other branches of industry.

Later on President Zhelyu Zhelev conferred with the owner of THE WASHINGTON POST.

The schedule of the Bulgarian head of state, who was to leave for New York today, will probably be changed. Tomorrow he is expected to be received at the White House by Mr. George Bush, President of the United States.

On October 2 Dr. Zhelev will address the 45th session of the UN General Assembly.

On Saturday and Sunday New York will host a World Summit on Children. It will be attended by an unprecedented 70 or more heads of state, including the Bulgarian president, who will deliver a speech at the meeting.

Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev will confer with about 20 heads of state or government. On Saturday he will meet Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR.

The Bulgarian president will have separate meetings with the presidents of Yugoslavia, Romania and Turkey and with the foreign minister of Greece. He will hold talks with the president of Czechoslovakia, with the prime ministers of Sweden and Norway and with the ministers of foreign affairs of the FRG, Austria and Israel.

Journalists and political scientists studying international relations have requested to see Dr. Zhelev.

Experts Differ on Causes of Ruse Pollution

AU2709130990 Sofia BTA in English 1132 GMT 26 Sep 90

["'Chemical Warfare' Against Ruse Continues"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 27 Sep (BTA)—In an analytical release on the ecological problems of Ruse, DUMA likens the Danubian town to a testing chemical ground subjected to continuously increased "gas attacks" from the opposite bank of the Danube.

After the chlorine production in the chemical works at Giurgiu was stopped, the chlorine gassing of Ruse sharply dropped, but its air is still polluted by other harmful substances emitted by the production of vulkacits [as received]—the basic raw material for the rubber industry.

There is a difference of opinion in the report of the Bulgarian and the Romanian experts who carried out an inspection. According to the Bulgarians the vulkacit installations are rust-stained and should be replaced. According to the Romanians the emission of harmful substances will be reduced to a minimum by mounting a purifier.

But it is not specified when the purifier will be installed. According to the paper the international experts' report, which is expected to be made about the Ruse-Giurgiu problem, will be of great importance for the final settlement of the argument.

In the meantime the respiratory system diseases among the 200,000 inhabitants of the Danubian town of Ruse are increasing. Lung cancer cases have grown by about 20 percent and lacteal gland cancer cases in women by about 60 percent.

List of BSP Supreme Council Members Published

AU2709144090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 27 Sep 90 p 5

["Unattributed report: The Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party"]

[Text]

Number of persons registered to vote:	1,362
Number of voters:	1,300
Number of invalid ballots:	30

Abadzhieva, Dimka Vasileva
Andonov, Andon Staykov
Andreev, Kosta Todorov
Antov, Danyo Milkov
Arnaudov, Stefan Ivanov
Atanasov, Atanas Velinov
Atanasova, Margarita Nikolova
Baeva, Iskra Vasileva
Bakalov, Zlatko Kostadinov
Bankov, Lazar Ivanov
Binev, Nikola Prodanov
Bliznashki, Georgi Petkov
Bogdanov, Valeri Georgiev
Bokov, Filip Georgiev
Borisov, Asen Panchev
Borisov, Borislav Dimitrov
Borisov, Yuriy Mitkov
Botev, Borislav Gerontiev
Bozhilov, Nikolay Stoyanov
Bozhinov, Georgi Todorov
Buchvarov, Delcho Atanasov
Chakurov, Milen Ivanov
Chobanska, Ilonka Dimitrova
Cholakov, Delcho Ivanov
Daganov, Borislav Khristov
Dankov, Dragomir Kunchev
Dechev, Blagoy Aleksandrov
Dimitrov, Apostol Ivanov
Dimitrov, Boyko Georgiev

Dimitrov, Ilcho Ivanov
Dimov, Dimo Khristov
Draganov, Yordan Georgiev
Dragiev, Petur Dragiev
Filipov, Volya Stoyanov
Ganchev, Kiril Stoykov
Genev, Evgeni Draganov
Georgiev, Georgi Davidkov
Georgiev, Luchezar Rosenov
Georgiev, Raycho Georgiev
Georgiev, Rumen Mladenov
Georgiev, Simeon Damyanov
Gindeva, Violeta Panayotova
Goranov, Nenko Dobrev
Granitski, Ivan Yordanov
Grazhdanski, Atanas Georgiev
Grigorov, Anton Marinov
Ivanov, Boyan Simeonov
Ivanov, Dimitur Mikhaylov
Ivanov, Ivan Tashev
Ivanov, Ivan Vasilev
Ivanov, Stilian Nikolov
Ivanov, Veselin Petrov
Kafedzhiyan, Ovanes Khachik
Kalchev, Ventsislav Iliev
Karakasheva, Sashka Georgieva
Katsarov, Kolyu Minkov
Khristov, Georgi Konstantinov
Kirov, Boyan Borisov
Kolev, Vasil Donchev
Konakchiev, Doncho Donchev
Kosev, Fidel Nikolov
Kostadinov, Emil Strakhilov
Krustanov, Dimitur Yovchev
Kurteva, Rumyana Ivanova
Kyuchukov, Lyubomir Nedkov
Kyuldzhieva, Velichka Atanasova
Kyuranov, Chavdar Yordanov
Lilov, Aleksandur Vasilev
Lukanov, Andrey Karlov
Lyubenov, Yuriy Draganov
Makrev, Angel Mikhaylov
Malinov, Bozhidar Georgiev
Manev, Nikolay Genov
Manolov, Manol Stoyanov
Marinchev, Yordan Ivanov
Marinov, Aleksandur Ivanov
Markov, Georgi Todorov
Mezov, Vasil Stefanov
Michev, Svetoslav Kolev
Mikhaylov, Dimitur Nikolov
Mikhov, Ignat Krustev
Miladinov, Stanislav Stratiev
Milevski, Petko Lyubenov
Mitev, Dimitur Stoyanov
Mitkova, Magdalena Subeva
Mladenov, Mladen Stoyanov
Modeva, Rumyana Tomova
Mutafchiev, Yordan Zhekov
Nedkov, Subi Kostadinov
Nedyalkov, Milko Nedyalkov
Neev, Marin Danchev
Nikolov, Ivan Stanev
Ninov, Ivan Borisov
Orbetsova, Vrubka Tsekova
Papratilov, Georgi Stoyanov
Paskalev, Prokop Georgiev
Penev, Pencho Stoyanov
Petkov, Toshko Dimov
Petrov, Valeri Nisimov
Petrova, Ekaterina Ivanova
Piriniski, Georgi Georgiev
Poptodorova, Elena Borislavova
Prisadova, Elena Dimitrova
Radulov, Nikolay Lyubomirov
Raychev, Ventsel Yordanov
Robeva, Neshka Stefanova
Sharlandzhiev, Todor Iliev
Sheyretova, Elena Todorova
Shopova, Petya Borisova
Sirleshtov, Todor Dimitrov
Stankovski, Zhelyazko Yordanov
Statkov, Rusi Ivanov
Staykov, Lyudmil Ivanov
Stefanov, Stefan Vulchev
Stoyanov, Zdravko Tsvetanov
Surdolov, Ognyan Asenov
Tambuev, Georgi Stefanov
Tankov, Stoyko Iliev
Temelkov, Nenko Viktorov
Todorov, Teodoro [name as published] Mikhaylov
Tomov, Aleksandur Trifonov
Tomov, Tikhomir Ivanov
Traykov, Stoyan Asenov
Trendafilov, Krustyu Paraskevov
Trifonov, Ancho Trifonov
Trifonov, Emil Georgiev
Tsenkov, Toshko Atanasov
Tsonkov, Gergo Goranov
Tsvetanov, Aleksey Asenov
Vagenshtayn, Anzhel Raymond
Vasilev, Zdravko Atanasov
Velichkova, Stanka Yanakieva
Velikov, Boyko Stefanov
Velkov, Yordan Kirilov
Videnov, Zhan Vasilev
Vulchev, Ivan Vasilev
Vulchev, Svetlin Rusev
Vulchev, Svilen Ivanov
Vulchev, Venko Stoyanov
Vulov, Vasil Tsvetkov
Yankov, Krum Khristov
Yonchev, Dimitur Trendafilov
Yordanov, Krustyu Nikolov
Yordanova, Petya Stefanova
Yosifov, Aleksandur Yosifov
Zakhariev, Zakhari Mikhaylov
Zartov, Yavor Dimitrov
Zhelev, Vulko Nedelchev
Zhelyazkov, Krasimir Vasilev
Zlatev, Zlatko Tonev

BSP All-Party Control Commission

AU2709155790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 27 Sep 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "The All-Party Control Commission of the Bulgarian Socialist Party"]

[Text]

Number of persons registered to vote:	1,362
Number of voters:	1,300
Number of invalid ballots:	4

1. Krasimir Blagoev Kostov
2. Mikhail Dimitrov Khristov
3. Krasimira Borisova Dimitrova
4. Dancho Yordanov Yordanov
5. Krasimir Atanasov Krustev
6. Lyudmil Petkov Dankov
7. Stoyan Purvanov Stoyanchev
8. Kiro Yordanov Marinov
9. Georgi Blagoev Dimitrov
10. Kiril Dimitrov Pendev
11. Boyan Ivanov Vurbanov
12. Dimitur Iliev Nuchev
13. Atanas Petrov Karaivanov
14. Nikola Ivanov Akpunarliev
15. Ognyan Ivanov Stoilkov
16. Dimcho Minchev Bobchev
17. Tsvetan Vladimirov Nenchev
18. Ivo Vladkov Kolarov
19. Nikolay Iliev Petkov
20. Aleksey Veselinov Terziev
21. Khristo Yankov Khristov
22. Stefan Minkov Radkov
23. Asparukh Evstatiev Georgiev
24. Khristo Dochev Belevski
25. Mitko Naydenov Mitkov
26. Rumyana Dimitrova Radkova
27. Stefan Tsankov Bratushkov
28. Mincho Mitev Lalev
29. Boyko Traychov Kostov
30. Trifon Dimitrov Mitev
31. Stanimir Toshev Rusev
32. Lazar Georgiev Obetsanov
33. Rosen Khristov Benov
34. Dimitur Borisov Mandadzhiev
35. Genoveva Dyakova Georgieva
36. Ivan Spasov Atanasov
37. Margarita Kirilova Krusteva-Gavrilova
38. Velko Mikhaylov Naydenov
39. Vulcho Stoychev Chaykov
40. Dimitur Nikolov Dimitrov
41. Khristo Stefanov Cholakov
42. Marin Stoyanov Yordanov-Butanski
43. Zdravko Petrov Georgiev
44. Kostadin Ivanov Paunov
45. Atanas Vasilev Neshkov
46. Milko Kostadinov Torbov
47. Veselina Vasileva Baycheva
48. Ivan Yosifov Ivanov
49. Dimitur Georgiev Dimitrov
50. Kuncho Markov Stoychev
51. Meglena Ivanova Plugchieva
52. Ivan Petrov Dimitrov
53. Khristofor Petrov Dochev
54. Todor Ivanov Todorov
55. Bonka Georgieva Tsakova
56. Ivo Petrov Seferov
57. Gergana Atanasova Georgieva
58. Chavdar Stefanov Mladenov
59. Ivan Stefanov Ivanov
60. Grigor Dimitrov Stankov
61. Yuliya Nikolova Mikhaylova
62. Dimitur Georgiev Dimitrov
63. Valentina Todorova Shalamanova
64. Atanas Asenov Ivanov
65. Kapka Petrova Kotsakova
66. Bozhana Vasileva Kasabova
67. Ivan Georgiev Ivanov
68. Petur Radoev Belevski
69. Deyan Ignatov Rizov
70. Milen Georgiev Milenkov
71. Kiril Velinov Kalyonski

BSP Supreme Council Holds Inaugural Session

AU2709122290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 26 Sep 90 p 1

[Goran Gotev and Mitko Bozhkov report]

[Text] Under the chairmanship of Aleksandur Lilov, the newly elected Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] held its first meeting on 25 September in one of the halls of the fire-damaged party building. After a short introductory speech by the chairman of the Supreme Party Council, the following spoke at the meeting: Ognyan Surdolov, Ilcho Dimitrov, Teodor Todorov, Krum Yankov, Boyan Kirov, Lyubomir Kyuchukov, Anzhel Vagenshtayn, Nenko Temelkov, Neshka Robeva, Georgi Pirinski, Todor Sirleshtov, Dimitur Mikhaylov, Stoyan Traykov, Sashka Karakasheva, Rumyana Modeva, Petya Shopova, Aleksandur Tomov, Dimitur Yonchev, Filip Bokov, Ivan Tashev, Yuriy Borisov, Georgi Markov, Apostol Dimitrov, Dimitur Krustanov, Ovanes Kafedzhiyan, Zakhari Zakhariev, Velichka Kyuldzhieva, Violeta Gindeva, Ivan Granitski, and Elena Prisadova.

Stanislav Stratiev (a writer), Ventsel Raychev (a journalist), and Iskra Baeva (a historian) explained their reasons for not taking part in the Supreme Party Council.

After a lively debate, in which the newly appointed members of the supreme party leadership made their presence felt, the Supreme Party Council adopted the following decisions.

1. It approved the following membership of the Presidium of the Supreme Party Council:
Chairman: Aleksandur Lilov.

Deputy chairmen: Aleksandur Tomov, Chavdar Kyuranov, Dimitur Yonchev, Lyubomir Kyuchukov.
Members of the Secretariat: Blagoy Dechev, Nencho Temelkov.
Members: Anzhel Vagenshtayn, Georgi Bliznashki, Ivan Stanev, Svetlin Rusev, Filip Bokov, Ivan Dinkov.

2. It proposed that the ideological tendencies within the BSP each appoint one of their members elected to the Supreme Party Council to serve in the Presidium of the Supreme Party Council.

3. It proposed that the leaders of the ideological tendencies take part in the work and the sessions of the Supreme Party Council.

4. It decided that working groups of experts should be set up on the main issues of party work, and that the membership of the groups will be considered and approved at the next session of the Supreme Party Council.

The Supreme Party Council also unanimously adopted a resolution in relation to the assessment of the danger of increasing political confrontation and social tension in the country which was expressed at the meeting of the chairman (president) of the Republic with the members of the National Security Council, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the leaders of the BSP, Union of Democratic Forces, and Bulgarian National Agrarian Union.

Radical Socialists Decide To Remain in BSP

AU2709173790 Sofia BTA in English 1714 GMT 27 Sep 90

["Radicals Stay in BSP (Bulgarian Socialist Party)"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 27 Sep (BTA)—The Radicals will stay on in the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] because their chances are slim outside it. If they break away, the most they can do is duplicate the recently split Alternative Socialist Party, Mr. Dragomir Draganov M.P. of the Socialist Party told the BTA.

The Radicals should formally determine their post-congress position at a conference they will hold on Saturday [29 September].

Mr. Draganov said the Radicals did not accept the election of Mr. Lilov as chairman of the BSP because he personifies the link of the BSP with Todor Zhivkov's party. On the other hand, however, he said there are radically-minded people in the new leadership which raises the hope that the BSP has embarked on the road to personnel changes.

Mr. Draganov believes that what matters most for the Radicals is to be a strong innerparty opposition and to push the BSP to reform. He claims that the Radicals in the BSP parliamentary faction support and keep supporting any sensible suggestion irrespective of whether it comes from the "red" or the "blue". "It is high time that the M.P.'s adhering to this position form a larger block so that parliament could stop marking time.

He declined to say whether the Radical Socialists in parliament would form their own faction (there are 12 of them and if they do so, they would disrupt the BSP parliamentary majority). "Before parliament adopts its rules of procedure we don't even have formal grounds to do it," he said.

Mr. Draganov says the coherence of the Socialists' parliamentary faction has not been put to a serious test so far. These tests are yet to come when the depoliticization and the land bills come up for discussion, he predicted.

National Assembly Debates Rules of Procedure

AU2709191490 Sofia BTA in English 1803 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Sep (BTA)—The Grand National Assembly rules of procedure were debated at an open session for the first time today.

Mr. Georgi Markov M.P. of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), a lawyer, told the BTA that the Socialists and the opposition will argue vehemently over the rules. The points of disagreement emerged today. The opposition believes that the adoption of a new constitution brooks no delay due to the country's socioeconomic development.

"What we need is active law-making and especially the passage of acts regulating important aspects of social relations. They will be essentially and constitutionally important and afterwards may provide a groundwork for the future Constitution," Mr. Markov believes. Among the priorities, he listed the Laws on Land, on Ownership, on the Structure and the Competence of Local Government and on the Organization of the Law Courts. The SDS wants these basic constitutional laws to be carried by a qualified two-thirds majority, which will also be required for the adoption of the Constitution. Mr. Markov said this is in the best interests of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] one-party government, as a law pushed through solely by the votes of the ruling party M.P's would lack the necessary public support.

The alternative version of the rules on the factions, which the M.P.'s debate, allow the Movement on Rights and Freedoms, the parties and organizations affiliated to the SDS and the Radicals in the BSP to form parliamentary factions of their own. The Socialists insist that a parliamentary faction should have at least fifteen members, while the opposition favors 10 M.P.'s.

The M.P.'s rights are debated, too: whether they should have guaranteed access to information, whether government ministers should be eligible to serve as M.P's, whether parliamentarian work should be professionalized.

Mr. Markov said the Socialists and the opposition will differ widely on the method in which the parliament's

rules of procedures should be adopted. The opposition will insist on a qualified majority.

Academician Nikolay Todorov, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, told the Chamber that the Bureau has requested further information on the idea of the president that Bulgaria send a limited military contingent to the Persian Gulf area. The matter will be discussed in parliament after Dr. Zhelev returns from the United States.

Popov Urges Assembly Settlement to Ethnic Strife

AU2709173890 Sofia BTA in English 1705 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Sep (BTA)—The ethnic issue should be settled at the Grand National Assembly, Mr. Rumen Popov, chairman of the Fatherland Party of Labor, told the press today. He believes that his party came into existence under pressure from the public opinion. In actual fact, however, the party emerged so that ethnic-based organizations and movements could take part in the June elections and to counterbalance the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms.

The Fatherland Party of Labor will take part in the local government elections but this time will not nominate candidates belonging to other parties. At the general elections the party nominated one Socialist and was criticized for that. Mr. Popov today declined to specify the towns where his party is particularly keen on having its member for a mayor.

There are forces which keep inciting the Movement for Rights and Freedoms to become a political organization, Mr. Popov believes. In his view this will give rise to numerous problems in future and the M.P.'s disregard the consequences. Mr. Popov criticized the Grand National Assembly's Credentials Committee for its failure to rule on the legitimacy of the M.P.'s elections and to establish whether there are M.P's with a criminal record. The Fatherland Party of Labor has its doubts about some M.P.'s for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms.

Mr. Popov believes that the land bills will give rise to heated debate in parliament. His party fears that "when land is put up for sale, large plots may be acquired by economically powerful people of non-Bulgarian self-identity and they may annex it to a foreign territory." Mr. Popov said that when the ethic issues is settled, the Fatherland Party of Labor will seek a power base among middle owners, farmers, and craftsmen. Event at this point it tries to rally the middle strata and, as its leader say, it does not vehemently oppose parliamentary monarchy.

Mr. Popov said he had information that the conscripts' others in the area of Kurdzhali, southern Bulgaria, and Razgrad, northern Bulgaria, have protested against President Zhelev's idea that Bulgaria send a limited military contingent to the Persian Gulf as part of the international security forces. The information about the protests has not been confirmed by another source so far.

Federal, Republic Leaders Hold Talks in Kromeriz

3 Governments Discuss Division of Powers

LD2709101890 Prague CTK in English 0935 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 27 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak Governments meet today in Kromeriz, South Moravia, to carry on their talks held in Trencianske Teplice, West Slovakia, on August 8-9 and in Piestany, also West Slovakia, on September 10-11, which dealt especially with the division of powers between the national republics and the Federation.

Taking place amid the Czechoslovak public's anxiety about the future of the Czechoslovak Federation caused by protracted disputes over the distribution of powers, and at a time when draft bills on privatization and other spheres of life important for the realization of political and economic transformations are being discussed, the Kromeriz meeting is attended also by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel.

Aware of the seriousness of the situation, the president called in his speech in parliament already ten days ago, on September 17, for strengthening the unity of the Czechoslovak state as a necessary prerequisite of maintaining the country's international prestige and its gradual involvement in the integration processes in Europe.

In an interview for Czechoslovak television on September 21, Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa pointed out that disputes over the division of powers only prevent the realization of the economic reform in Czechoslovakia.

Characteristically, the editor in chief of the MLADA FRONTA DNES daily today warned that "the seriousness of the situation which has developed in Czechoslovakia in consequence of internal problems not solved for a long time and of newly emerging dramatic external economic impacts can lead not only to an economic, but also social bankruptcy."

He calls on the Kromeriz deliberations participants "not to waste the precious time they were granted by their voters in disputes over distribution of powers and marginal problems, and to tackle the most important task—solution of economic questions."

One of these questions attracting the public's attention of late is the draft bill on so-called small privatization concerning shops and services. Shop assistants launched a token strike yesterday against the provision that the state-run shop network should be transferred into private hands through auctions. They demand preemption in the sale of shops. The draft bill should be submitted after today's discussion in Kromeriz to the federal parliament on Monday October 1.

Pithart Outlines Tripartite Talks

LD2709153390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1240 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Statement by Czech Government Premier Petr Pithart at a joint news conference of CSFR federal and republic leaders in Kromeriz—live]

[Text] A lot was at stake indeed in Kromeriz—as a cartoon in the ROVNOST shows today—but the national cards were not played. This is the most positive aspect of the entire meeting, from my point of view, that is: There have not been any significant differences on how each one of the three governments views this problem. Voting took place in all three governments—in every one individually. The result was approximately the same. However, the voting was not entirely unanimous. Certainly not! To make myself clear, to be more precise: The most disputed issue—that is, how much priority to give to present employees of production units—was voted on. There was no dispute that they should have preferential treatment. The disputed issue was on how significant it should be, if this should be by a form of preview auctions or only by more advantageous repayments schemes. The voting—as I have already said—was far from unanimous. If (?only) we three, as we sit here, were voting then the result would be different to what the governments have decided on but this is usually the case and in democratic conditions this is quite normal.

We also expressed fears whether if adopting this alternative, that is, without the significant priority for the present employees, the network—above all the basic shops, selling the basic foodstuffs—would be preserved and we have changed the draft so that he who obtains at an auction a shop which sells basic foodstuffs—kept in check by strict sanctions—will not be able to change the range of goods for two years. However, one cannot, from the position of the law, influence in any other way what is being sold in any one shop. One cannot exclude certain confusion and chaos, but the market will no doubt very quickly correct all the hasty ideas.

The Czech Government has devoted about 14 hours of debates to this problem alone—at least 13 hours of these were devoted to the issue to what extent to give priority to present employees. I could today give you pros and cons—and there would be ten of them each. This was indeed a very difficult and complex decision and I am convinced that in the case of many political feelings, instincts prevailed. Who will benefit from such a change and who will be hurt? There are in principle three groups: first of all, those people who are working in shops, restaurants, and small workshops—they naturally have a vested interest. The second group are the private entrepreneurs—there are 200,000 of them today—that are ready and waiting for an opportunity. Many of them have financial means. And then there is the third and I would say possibly the most important group—those are the 15 million people who simply go shopping, go to restaurants, need services. And the dispute has been, in fact, about which of the alternatives would be the most

beneficial for those 15 millions. We would not be able to make any decision at all if it was not for this: For example, the stand of enterpreneurs and those who at present work in retail and services is naturally sharply contradictory. What will the benefit be for the public, the population, us, the consumers? This was, in fact, the object of our consideration and we have tried to take this mainly into consideration—I am saying tried although the views on this varied and I personally was outvoted. But naturally, the decisions are valid. Everyone has been guided by this effort: to take into account the interests of the broad public and not only a certain strata of the population. The decisionmaking was not at all easy and I am convinced that very few of us are leaving entirely convinced that this was the only possible solution. But this seems to be the case these days. Thank you.

Meciar Cites Privatization Issues

LD2709163690 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1232 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Statement by Slovak Government Premier Vladimir Meciar at a joint news conference given by CSFR federal and republic leaders in Kromeriz—live]

[Text] The idea of a joint session of all three governments has come into being because we wanted to speed up the entire process of adopting a law on small-scale privatization. Basically, we have agreed on the content of the law which decides upon (?the essence) of the privatization, and the national republics will adopt a law by which they will guide the course of privatization to be carried out by individual bodies of state administration in the CSFR.

An agreement has been reached that the property of the state used by economic, contributing, and budget organizations [majetok statu, ktory je uzivany v hospodarskych, prispevkovych i rozpoctovych organizaciach] is to be privatized. It has also been agreed that property which is the object of trade, services, and production will become an object of privatization in such a way that the extent of this property will be decided upon by the governments of the republics, which will specify it more closely. This property cannot be quantified by stating its [word indistinct] value, its use or its size. It will be therefore up to every government to evaluate it.

The objections and telegrams and excitement which preceded this session mainly came from the current staff of shops and services organizations. These objections aimed at preventing a handover of the shops to people other than those who work in them. They also objected to a situation in which people with so-called unclean money would be able to offer more at public auctions and in this way could gain and privatize various trade and other systems. We discussed this issue for a long time and looked for a solution which would, apart from dealing with their request, also take into consideration the situation that in the field of services and trade alone the value of the basic objects of privatization equals 200 billion korunas [Kcs], the value of supplies is Kcs80 billion, and the value of services is Kcs50 billion. These matters must be settled in such a way as to prevent inflation and the destruction of the financial economics of the state. With the aim of finding such a solution, all three governments proposed and adopted a joint stand that privatization will take the form of an auction, and that the staff will take direct part in the auction. Should an employee be successful in bidding at the auction, he will have an advantage over other people who attend the auction, in that he will be able to get a loan of up to 50 percent of the agreed price, which he can repay over five years.

With regard to the objection that illegal money changers would be able to buy themselves shops and therefore two auctions should be held, the first for the employees and the second—should the first be unsuccessful—for other people, I must say that we were unable to justify it. I do not want to insult honest employees in shops. I also do not want to insult people who work in organizations where it is really difficult to obtain money. We however are realists and see that there were not only illegal money changers who enriched themselves but also butchers, greengrocers, innkeepers, and restaurant managers, and today actually it is one sort of unclean money against a different sort, and the state must become a regulator. If we adopted a law that would not take this into consideration, we would create a precedent; in so-called large-scale privatization the staff of, let us say, a power station would say: We work here and therefore we should get this cheaper than other people. All citizens are to have the same opportunities; we take into consideration certain jobs and certain expertise by providing special credit conditions or loans.

If we take into consideration possible inflation trends in the coming period, a five-year loan will actually become twice as advantageous in the long term due to the expected rate of inflation. Therefore they cannot say that we have ignored them. Our aim is to create the same conditions for everyone.

The bill of this law in this form will be put forward to the Federal Assembly. I want to stress that all three governments have reached consent. The talks took place, as always, in an atmosphere of mutual respect, of fairness and mutual understanding. We have appreciated in particular the fact that the president, with his authority, supported the talks of the governments and opened it; these were his constitutional rights. The talks were conducted under his direct supervision.

Calfa Speaks on Government Proposal

LD2709163790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1246 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Speech by CSFR Federal Premier Marian Calfa at a joint news conference of CSFR federal and republic leaders in Kromeriz—live]

[Text] I would like to say that jointly, we—the three governments—drew up a government proposal. And

therefore, what we have produced is the standpoint of all three governments. It is not a legal amendment, because it is a draft which will be submitted to the Federal Assembly, and the Federal Assembly should discuss it. There were two things which we regarded as contentious, but in the end we agreed on a standpoint.

I chaired the session of all three governments and I have a good feeling from this session. It was the first session which we attempted to run in a collective way and it is turning out that here we have all three collectives which form one body and that this body has a homogenous interest. In terms of economic affairs, this body is interested in starting to implement real economic reform. This small privatization, therefore, represents the first step. As far as the range of matters discussed is concerned, we discussed whether privatization in the sphere of trade, services, and production is sufficient. We reached the conclusion that it is possible to privatize in other spheres as well. Opthalmic opticians were discussed in particular with the premise that this problem will be amended in legislative and technical terms and that it will be included in this proposal.

The second problem, which was exceptionally intensively discussed—and my colleagues have already spoken about it here—is the problem to whom should small businesses in fact be sold? I would like to say one thing, so that it will be heard here, that the entire legal amendment which was proposed proceeds from the conception of preference. The point was: What kind of preference should this be? A simple question was put to all three governments: Should this preference take the form of priority given to staff, or should we retain the originally suggested conception of preference, that is, an auction accessible to all, but with more advantageous financial conditions to staff in terms fo payments?

The governments reached the conclusion that from the viewpoint of market mechanism the second form, or the form of advantages in payments, is more positive. This is, of course, what the retail trade staff prefer. I would also like to add that the preference of retail trade staff lies in their knowledge of running the businesses. This is knowledge which is dearly paid for in the world. This is knowledge of the efficiency, trade turnover, trade relations, consumer-supplier relations of the business; this is knowledge of how many people do their shopping there or in which place the shop is located. This knowledge is based on long-term experience, too. And thus, in my view there exist a two-fold advantage enjoyed by retail trade staff: in the sphere of finance and in the fact that they are the only (?people) who have good and very deep knowledge of the business which is being auctioned.

The third thing which was discussed there and which should be mentioned here is that the law will include a provision which will block the possibility to change, for a period of two years, the nature of the shops which are put up for auction and which will be sold. A period of six months was proposed, but we reached the conclusion that this period is [too] short and that from the viewpoint of market stability, in particular in the sphere of foodstuffs, it is essential to provide a longer period so that the range of goods could not be changed. We therefore feel that this is represents a certain stabilizing measure.

And the last question, which was also on the agenda of the discussion, was consideration of what to do with labor relations or with the jobs of current staff, in the event that the new owner is not interested in employing them. We, however, think that this thing has been construed and that cases like this will be exceptional. Normal practice will be to employ the people who are already working there. This task was handed to the lawyers so that in cooperation with the appropriate ministers, that is, the federal finance minister and the two republican ministers in charge of privatization, they would carry out a fair assessment of it and so that they would finalize it. We agreed that this law will be [word indistinct] and that following today's discussion the final wording of this law will be drafted and that it will be submitted in the shortest possible time, probably at the beginning of next week, to the Federal Assembly for discussion. We also have an agreement with the Federal Assembly that it will give priority to this law, or to be more precise to this draft law, with regard to its importance and (?substance) and with regard to the fact that it in fact affects all of us, because I am talking about a sphere which directly surrounds us and which provides a basis for our normal life.

In conclusion, I would like to say that I think talks of this kind are good for two reasons. The more trivial one boils down to the time factor. There are materials which are urgent and which we would deal like to get out. This, therefore, makes it possible for us to join the sessions and not to postpone them. The second reason is that all three supreme bodies with executive bodies—from the two republics and from the federation—get together and that this collective is so powerful that it is in the course of discussion, of exchanging explanations of things, able to arrive at mutual understanding and positive conclusions. It seems that this is a good of way conducting our future mutual cooperation, which will be very much needed by all of us. Thank you.

Havel Comments on his Participation

LD2709193190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Sep 90

[News conference by CSFR President Vaclav Havel for domestic journalists in Prague on 27 September—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] Mr. President, have you taken part for the first time in important talks between the three governments—the federal and the two national ones. The talks were about the thorny question of small privatization. How did the talks go, how do you view the results?

[Havel] Yes indeed, for the first time in my life I took part in a government meeting, and a meeting of three governments all at the same time. This was a really new experience for me, a very interesting one, and the reason I took part is because a really important matter was at stake. Intensive debates have been going on for several months about the technique of the great transformation of the national economy which awaits us, and now that the government scenario has been approved, we are entering the phase of implementing that reform. You know how impatient our society is, how nervous it is at the fact that there is still nothing visible happening, that it is all talk, debate, and theory, and from that point of view that meeting seemed to me truly historic, because in fact it prepared the ground for that first step. It is not the most important step, but it is the first step, that is why it is important, and it is a very visible step, because the small privatization affects what is most visible—the shops on the streets of our towns and villages, inns, all kinds of services and so on. This bill has been improved and reworked right up to the last moment, and in my view this last version is a very good one. It is simple and clear, and anyone who reads it can understand it. In addition I think it is also a good one in the sense that it also applies the principle of an authentic federation, in that relatively great powers are given to the republics. The whole privatization process, the formation of the commissions, sections, and privatization institutes is entrusted to the republics, and the federal law genuinely formulates the basic framework, the basic principles of this process. The talks were very interesting.

Several minor specific suggestions were put forward regarding the draft of the law, and they will be incorporated in it without problems. In fact the discussion concentrated on only one disputed theme. This was the issue of priority, which is clear, and all agree with the fact that the employees of small businesses are to be given some kind of priority before or when the businesses go to public auction, they are to be given some kind of advantage. Nevertheless, there was a discussion there about the way of giving them this priority.

One view was that for various reasons it is necessary to give priority to the employees in the form of some sort of the right to buy first; this means an auction—the first round of such an auction would be open only to the employees, and only the second or eventually the third round would be open to the public. It must be an auction, because there can be more people in such a small business, and each of them wants to buy it, and so on; and there are questions of who would otherwise decide to whom to sell the business in question and in what way the decision would be taken; therefore it must be done on the principle of an auction. This was one view.

Another view was that the preference should be just in the form of some financial advantage; that employees take part in the public auction but will enjoy the advantage of being able to pay a certain part of the price, probably half of it, in installments over a five-year period, which other people interested in buying will be unable to do. It would be 50 percent, or a bit less or more, as it was decided that this still has to be calculated and fine-tuned.

All possible economic, social, political, and other aspects of these two variants were assessed with great responsibility.

I admit that personally—and I was not alone—I preferred the first variant which says that the first round of the auctions should be open only to employees.

After a long discussion and a vote taken by all the three governments, the second view finally won.

I think that it is important that the Federal Assembly starts to discuss it in October, that it discusses it in a responsible manner so that the process of privatization could, indeed, start as early as November if possible. I am not going to talk about all possible aspects of the two variants, because it would be a terribly long lecture and, in addition, I am not the most competent person to deliver such a lecture. Nevertheless, it was discussed in a responsible manner, indeed and I felt very glad about the fact that the three governments took a unanimous and unambiguous stance, that there were no various contradictory or other alternatives from which the parliament could choose, and that the three governments simply demonstrated some kind of viewpoint. The matter now rests with the representative bodies.

It should be said that this is something unprecedented. As you know, nowhere else was the degree of nationalization as high as in our country, in particular in the sphere of small businesses, restaurants, and so on. Privatization of such a radical nature is almost unprecedented. There are countless dangers in each solution. In fact, it is very difficult to pick from various poor alternatives, and the least poor one must be selected. Let's hope that this is the one which was picked by the government, and let's hope that I was wrong when I favored the alternative which did not win in the end.

Land Congress of Socialist Party Held 22 Sep

AU2809093390 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 24 Sep 90 p 1

["ich"-signed report: "Interests of Moravia and Silesia"]

[Text] Prostejov—On Saturday [22 September] in Prostejov, the First Land Congress of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party for Moravia and Silesia took place with 125 delegates attending.

The meeting did not leave any doubts that the organizations of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party in Moravia and Silesia which represent about 40 percent of the membership, know what they want. They want to work toward the establishment of the land arrangement based on economic regionalism. Prague-centralism should be replaced by a simpler and more effective administration of party and public activities. The participation of the

Czechoslovak Socialist Party in the so-called Moravian and Silesian bloc coalition should be reflected positively in the outcome of the local elections.

M. Adam, acting deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, outlined the party goals prior to the 15th congress, the conditions for achieving full democracy in the country, and economic recovery through privatization.

An interesting innovation is the two-chamber administration of the Moravian and Silesian land organization with an eleven-member executive committee (headed by Chairman I. Drapala and Deputy Chairman A. Frommer) and board of representatives formed by 24 district committee representatives.

Signs of Tension Seen Within Civic Forum

AU2609164390 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Sep 90 p 2

[Igor Cibula commentary: "The First Indication of a Split in Civic Forum; Will Dubcek's Turn Come, Too?"]

[Text] Until recently, it seemed to an observer of the Prague political scene that the personal conflicts or a difference of opinion leading to a split in member structures—in cases of "disobedient" individuals even to excommunication—are only problems of the parties, which either did not gain representation in parliament, or of those who came into the opposition benches through their own doing. Although the strongest parliamentary fraction had a similar fate predicted some time ago—President Vaclav Havel admitted it, too—the first indications of this decomposition process were not expected as early as the opening round of parliamentary debates.

The first public signal of Civic Forum splitting into the left and right wings came from the right-wing fundamentalists at the meeting of the Civic Forum deputies club last Friday [14 September], when they stood up against the nomination of Professor Zdenek Jicinsky, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly, to the parliamentary Commission for Drafting the New Constitution. They argued for their dissent by the fact that our leading legislator participated in the preparation of the Constitution of 1960 which stipulates the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This case, however, does not involve only the person of Professor Jicinsky, because many important personalities, who were at one time members of the Dubcek Communist Party, are operating on the Civic Forum platform. Even several ministers—including Premier Marian Calfa—representing the Civic Forum in the federal government are actually recent ex-communists, for they discarded their membership cards only after 17 November 1989.

It certainly was also in an effort to pacify the radical fundamentalists that Vaclav Havel unexpectedly attended the Saturday assembly of Civic Forum so as to curb by his presence the internal confrontation, which, just before the upcoming local elections—but also in the Czech-Slovak talks—could substantially weaken the position of the Civic Forum representatives. The aggressive critics of the ex-communist personalities are reducing the socio-political basis of the movement, forgetting the role they played not only in the so-called November revolution, but also in the subsequent period of forming the democratic institutions of our society.

If the mentioned confrontation process came to a head, it would not only weaken Civic Forum as a political movement with a broad basis. With consideration of the signs of the formation of the noncommunist left wing, this might lead to a situation in which the attacked ex-communists would show their original left leaning. This state could help to consolidate the right wing, but the balanced center, which should remain to be the dominant force with respect to the upcoming period of socioeconomic shocks, would suffer.

New Coalition Established in Moravia, Silesia

AU2709114590 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 18 Sep 90 p 16

["kch"-signed report: "A Coalition Agreement in Brno"]

[Text] A coalition agreement of the Moravian-Silesian Democratic Bloc [Moravsko-Slezsky demokraticky blok], which is composed of the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy—Society for Moravia and Silesia, Czechoslovak Socialist Party, Czechoslovak Social Democracy, Green Party, and Liberal Democratic Party, was ceremonially signed in the ceremonial chambers of the Old City Hall in Brno. The agreement on cooperation in the period prior to local elections, which was signed by representatives of the Brno city committees of the forementioned parties and movements, states, among other things, that the bloc considers itself to be an association open to any other democratic parties and movements that are willing to coordinate their activities, as well as to candidates without party affiliation. According to its election program, the Moravian-Silesian Democratic Bloc considers securing drinking water for the city of Brno to be the most important ecological and political problem.

Students' Statement Demands Calfa Resignation

LD2609202490 Prague CTK in English 1916 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 26 (CTK)—"We demand that all state organs be purified of all those who lack moral or professional qualities necessary to perform their functions," a students' statement, given to CTK here today, said.

The statement, called "An Appeal to Fellow Citizens No. III," further demanded that Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa, Defence Minister Miroslav Vacek and

Vasil Mohorita, the member of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly's presidium and the Communist Party first secretary, should resign.

The appeal, signed mainly by student leaders who headed the strikes in the last November revolution, called for a thorough investigation of the last November police assault against a peaceful student demonstration and of its background and publishing of all available pieces of information concerning this event, for the reduction of the high pensions of the former regime's officials, and a speedy clarification of the issue of the Communist Party's property.

The appeal also demanded that independent TV and radio stations are enabled to broadcast, and that Czechoslovak TV, Czechoslovak Radio and the Czechoslovak News Agency inform the public in a truthful and unbiased way, with high quality and up to professional standards.

Appeal Proceedings in Stepan Case Adjourned

AU2709104890 Prague CTK in English 1014 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sep 25 (CTK)—The City Court of Prague today started to deal with the appeal of Miroslav Stepan, former member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague City Committee of the party, against the four-year sentence he was given on July 9.

The sentence was imposed on Stepan for abuse of power of a public official in connection with demonstrations in Prague in October 1988 (70th anniversary of the establishment of Czechoslovakia) and in January 1989 (20th anniversary of self-immolation of student Jan Palach in protest against the presence of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia which crushed the revival process in the country in August 1968).

Miroslav Stepan was born to a farmer's family in 1945. During his studies at the Prague Agricultural College he became an official of the communist-controlled Socialist Union of Youth (SSM). In 1974, the then leading secretary of the Communist Party City Committee in Prague Antonin Kapek secured for Stepan the post of chairman of the SSM City Committee in Prague. He held it until 1977 when Kapek, being Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member, proposed him to the post of chairman of the International Union of Students which he held until 1986. His closest colleague in the apparatus of this Moscow-controlled organization was Milos Jakes Jr., son of Milos Jakes, one of leading representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which carried out normalization in the country after the 1968 Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia and later party general secretary.

It was thanks to these contacts that in April 1988 Stepan became a member of the party Central Committee. At the same time, he succeeded Kapek in the post of leading secretary of the Party City Committee in Prague. In October the same year Stepan got into the party Presidium.

He then appeared to be a reform communist, but gradually he espoused the hard-line policy. After the January 1989 demonstrations in Prague which he helped suppress, he became the most hated representative of the former regime. His closest colleagues characterized him as a most ambitious man.

Investigated is also Stepan's participation in the armed action against the student demonstration in downtown Prague on November 17, 1989, but the background of the whole case is not yet fully clarified.

Miroslav Stepan is thus far the only representative of the former Communist Party leadership to be tried for abuse of power of a public official. His one-time protector Antonin Kapek committed suicide last May.

The court dealing with the appeal of former Communist Party chief in Prague Miroslav Stepan against a four-year sentence today adjourned the case until October 22.

On the opening day of the proceedings today the court heard the speech of the defense attorney who challenged the evidence submitted in the case as insufficient.

The attorney said that the testimony of a police general, Bohumil Carda, concerning Miroslav Stepan's responsibility in connection with the suppression of public protests and demonstrations in Prague on October 28, 1988 and January 15, 1989, was not fully confirmed by any of the witnesses.

SVOBODNE SLOVO Rebels Against its Publisher

AU2609165190

[Editorial Report] Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech and other Czech dailies on 21 and 22 September deal with recent developments in this newspaper, the daily of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party (CSS).

Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO on 21 September on page 1, under the headline "To Our Readers," carries a 200-word statement by the SVOBODNE SLOVO editorial office. It states that at a meeting held on 20 September, employees of the Melantrich publishing house, in which SVOBODNE SLOVO is published, decided to set up a joint-stock company "in which neither the CSS nor any other political force will have any stake." The SVOBODNE SLOVO editorial office statement "welcomes" this decision, saying that SVOBODNE SLOVO journalists are committed to political independence, all the more so as only a fraction of its 500,000 subscribers are CSS members.

Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 22 September on page 1 carries another 200-word statement by the SVOBODNE SLOVO editorial office, entitled "Row About Keys Continues." The statement explains the

motives which prompted the Melantrich employees to adopt the above decision. It states that, during the first republic, Melantrich was a joint-stock company, in which some shares were owned by members of the Czechoslovak National Social Party, the predecessor of the CSS, but not by the party itself. The CSS's present ownership of the publishing house is based on an agreement between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the CSS concluded after the "February putsch" of 1948. The SVOBODNE SLOVO statement calls it "immoral" for the CSS to base its claim to Melantrich on a "pact with communists." Another motive for the step, the statement goes on to say, is the endeavor of the editorial offices of SVOBODNE SLOVO and the other Melantrich periodicals to gain "true independence."

The SVOBODNE SLOVO statement is followed by a 150-word report on a statement issued by the "CSS leadership" in response to the decision of the Melantrich employees. This statement qualifies this decision as "devoid of any legal foundation" and affirms that "the CSS leadership is the sole and exclusive legal owner of the Melantrich enterprise." The statement declares that the CSS leadership "will take all measures that are necessary to live up to its responsibility for the content and political line of SVOBODNE SLOVO."

Prague PRACE in Czech on 22 September on page 2 carries a 400-word "ipo"-signed report on the conflict between Melantrich and its present owner, entitled "Melantrich Will Not Let Itself Be Stopped!" The report quotes M. Nevole, the Melantrich director, as having told PRACE that only "complete privatization" can guarantee the survival of the publishing house. Since the beginning of 1990 alone, Melantrich has reportedly surrendered 21 million korunas in profits to the CSS, money which it would badly need for modernization. Pavel Krasa, deputy chief editor of SVOBODNE SLOVO, adds that "we do not want to liquidate the party. We only want to separate from it before it liquidates us. The endeavor to turn the daily into a party bulletin is absurd, if for no other reason than because the CSS has about 20,000 members, whereas the daily has a print run of 480,000 copies."

Argument Develops Over Paper Status

LD2709144790 Prague CTK in English 1235 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept (CTK)—A split in the Czechoslovak Socialist Party (CSS), one of the two in the Czech Republic which survived forty years of communist rule, is now followed by a row over SVOBODNE SLOVO, a daily with a circulation of 500,000, and the publishing house Melantrich.

SVOBODNE SLOVO, until yesterday the socialist party paper, now calls itself the Daily of Melantrich. Although it is claimed by the party, Melantrich employees say that this publishing house has never belonged to CSS. They say it was a joint-stock company up to 1984 after which the CSS took it over on the basis of political agreements with the communists and laws adopted after February 1948 the validity of which is now unacceptable. The employees now want to re-establish a joint-stock company.

At a press conference today, Acting Party Chairman Milan Adam regretted the decision of the newspaper but said that the party had frozen the account of the publishing house, which has a fine building in downtown Prague, and wants to take legal action in the case.

The party has also recalled the manager and the editor in chief of Melantrich and SVOBODNE SLOVO, but the employees do not respect the decision.

Gypsy Agency To Provide 'Well-Informed Picture'

AU2709073690 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 22 Sep 90 p 3

["em"-signed report: "A Romany CTK"]

[Text] As we learned from Deputy Dr. Emil Scuka, the Romany Press Agency [Romska Tiskova Agentura], RTA, which will assemble information on the life of Romanies, will begin operating in October. Journalists from leading dailies and periodicals (MLADA FRONTA, LIDOVE NOVINY, SVOBODNE SLOVO, RESPEKT, etc.) will become members of this agency, which will operate under the Romany Civic Initiative. The agency will strive to provide an objective and well-informed picture of the problems of Romany fellow citizens.

Tatra Bank Established as Joint Stock Company

AU2709114690 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Sep 90 p 2

["NO-si"-signed report: "The First in the Republic"]

[Text] The constituent general assembly of underwriters—future shareholders—of the Tatra Bank, joint stock company—the first bank on the CSFR territory that has been established as a joint venture with foreign financial institutions—was held in the Bratislava House of Trade Unions yesterday. The participants in the meeting approved the decision about its establishment, start-up capital assets amounting to 401.7 million korunas, and the statutes of the joint stock company, and elected the board of directors and supervisory board. The Tatra Bank's activity will focus on providing financial services to medium-size and smaller entrepreneurs in the private, cooperative, and state sectors. The goal of its entrepreneurial activity is the establishment of a universal, medium-size financial institution with a wide network of branches.

Havel Adviser Interviewed on Market Economy

AU2709112690 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 20 Sep 90 p 3

[Interview with Ota Sik, economic expert and CSFR President Vaclav Havel's adviser, by Fred David; place and date not given: "How Social Can the Social Market Economy Be?"]

[Text] [David] Your name is connected with the "third way" between the capitalist and the socialist economies. However, the model developed by you is not being practiced anywhere. Is it the wrong way?

[Sik] In fact, no one in East Europe has expressly envisaged using such a model. Therefore, developments have ignored it.

[David] Because the "third way" is not feasible?

[Sik] No. I deliberately chose this term years ago because I wanted to fight against the communists' claim that there is only real socialism or Manchester capitalism, and nothing in between. However, I realize that the slogan "third way" has made itself independent. In the GDR, the Soviet Union, and the CSFR, some politicians wanted a bit of market economy and a bit of planned economy, and camouflaged that as the "third way." That is nonsense. The free market economy is the basis. I have always considered that the prerequisite.

[David] What is the difference between you and other economic theorists in the West?

[Sik] I not only want a social market economy but a socially just market economy with strongly ecological goals.

[David] Is the social market economy not just?

[Sik] Among other things, just also means a very high level of financial participation by staff members in the companies.

[David] Entrepreneurs suspect that behind this is "socialism by the backdoor."

[Sik] And I call it human economic democracy.

[David] Instead of an anonymous pseudo people's ownership, a direct financial participation of the staff in their enterprise?

[Sik] Yes. There are in the Federal Republic as many as 2,000 companies with collective staff capital and profit sharing. However, that does not work with large enterprises or concerns that branch out widely.

[David] Why not?

[Sik] Because the individual staffer is unable to see how things stand, and he therefore loses interest. In these enterprises, individual capital interests must be created for the employees.

[David] The cleaner and the manager as the stockholders of their enterprise?

[Sik] Yes, a start can be made particularly in East Europe where the task is to privatize state enterprises. The enterprises are converted into joint stock companies, with the staff holding a large part of the companies' stock. By the way, that has been successfully practiced in the United States. Eight years ago, 260,000 staffers worked in such companies; now there are eight million. Analyses have shown that as a rule, such companies work more efficiently than normal joint stock companies because the employees' interest in their firm is much greater. With this system, firms are more likely to be able to retain their qualified personnel who they have trained at considerable expense.

[David] In the CSFR where you are President Havel's economic adviser, Finance Minister Klaus talks about a similar theory which he calls "people's capitalism."

[Sik] There are considerable differences between my concepts and those of the finance minister. He wants to offer the state's assets to the people in the form of coupons. Then everybody would think that they were rich. Very few people know that these coupons would first have to be changed into stocks. In addition, there is the question as to which firms have a future, and which of them will yield a dividend. There will be few that yield a dividend. Distributed among so many stockholders, the profits for the individual will be small. Many people will not get anything. In reality, the plan is only intended to attract foreign stockholders.

[David] So, is it just a trick?

[Sik] At least, it is not what credulous people would hope it to be.

[David] In East Europe, including the CSFR, the confrontation between those who favor a clear cut in economic policy and those who propose gradual transition is increasing. Has the struggle between the two positions been resolved?

[Sik] The differences persist. However, I do not agree with either. I am a radical reformer when the market economy, the liberalization of prices, and a restrictive financial policy as an instrument against inflation are concerned. However, I am opposed to radically abolishing all subsidies within a very short time.

[David] But that surely separates enterprises very thoroughly from the state.

[Sik] That sounds good, but it has fatal consequences. Those who plan to reduce the subsidies to zero within two years—that is what Klaus wants—pronounce the death sentence for many large enterprises. I cannot share this position which considers an abrupt increase in the number of unemployed by hundreds of thousands or millions. I think it is irresponsible to pursue the bankruptcy of economically important industries as a policy.

[David] Is Finance Minister Klaus doing so as the exponent of the hardline wing?

[Sik] I am not going to allow myself to be forced into some kind of confrontation. However, there is in the CSFR and elsewhere the group of monetarists—as I call them—whose influence is substantially increasing, who do not want to have any economic policy and reject every interference by the state as devilish stuff, including efficient measures against the forming of monopolies and distortions of competition and other similar things.

[David] Are East European politicians suddenly the most capitalist to capitalists?

[Sik] It is, of course, popular to say that we must do a proper job now, and that we must totally and quickly change everything. The people expect the situation to change over night with the introduction of the market economy, they believe that the faster and the tougher the measures are, the better. That is a great illusion which may easily turn into disappointment, bitterness, and radicalism. Even the most radical economic reform program can only improve life slowly for years to come. Long transition periods are necessary, and that is what we have to tell the people. It is not absolutely necessary for general public to understand what productivity means; however, they must know how long it takes to set up a factory producing competitive products. In the Soviet Union, where people took to the streets last week by the tens of thousands to demonstrate for a radical economic reform, it will take decades until its products will be competitive on the international market, and that is the prerequisite for economic recovery. However, I do not believe that the people are aware of these dimensions.

[David] Do you also mean the GDR where the election slogan "Prosperity For All" was taken seriously, and now everybody is greatly disappointed?

[Sik] The currency exchange of one to one, which was announced at such short notice and was carried out in July, is bound to totally ruin the GDR economy. I never had any doubt about that.

[David] Have people knowingly accepted that?

[Sik] I am sure that people in West Germany were fully aware of the consequences of this step.

[David] Were they aware of the fact that they would produce several hundreds of thousands or millions of unemployed within a short period of time?

[Sik] Yes. With Helmut Kohl, the monetarists have got their way in the Federal Republic, too. They argue that a large army of unemployed is justified and thus natural because the labor market cannot absorb more workers. The monetarists consider unemployment of 10 and even 15 percent acceptable. That is Milton Friedman's theory.

[David] Unemployment at the present stage of development will be inevitable in all European countries.

[Sik] It is inevitable. However, unemployment of more than four percent is not only unnecessary but also dangerous.

[David] Why?

[Sik] In democracies that are not yet consolidated it may lead to authoritarian governments because only they would be able to bring the inevitable social unrest under control.

[David] Fascism in East Europe?

[Sik] Let us take the example of Chile where I studied the mechanisms in detail. The so-called Chicago boys put Milton Friedman's theory into practice in Chile and were partly successful in individual areas, however, at the cost of mass unemployment. For years, the Pinochet regime used the resultant social unrest as an argument against democratization.

[David] Can this example be extended to Europe?

[Sik] I do not want to dramatize things, however, we must take the situation seriously. Permanent high unemployment is even problematic in relatively stable democracies such as the Federal Republic or Great Britain. People rely solely on economic growth which they believe will eventually abolish unemployment. I predicted 10 years ago, and was right, that there would be millions of unemployed in both of these prospering countries, because the faster jobs are replaced by innovation, the faster workers are released. While growth leads to more employment, increasing capital investment releases workers. If this mechanism is balanced, the result is this so-called natural unemployment to which you may get used in prospering economies and democracies, but not in backward ones.

[David] What remedy would you suggest?

[Sik] Quick and thorough retraining, promoting services, starting labor-intensive branches of industry, and possibly also introducing the selective reduction of work hours, and similar measures.

[David] In other words, intervention by the state.

[Sik] Yes, wherever it is sensible. I have seen in Liverpool and Manchester what it means to pursue the market economy "without any addition," as Maggie Thatcher is doing. By the way, this is also the program of CSFR Finance Minister Klaus as a protagonist of the monetarists. In Great Britain, I met young people who do not have any prospects at all, who do not have a chance to become absorbed in the work process, and who take to the streets, who resort to drugs and organized crime. I cannot accept that as a "natural phenomenon." My father was unemployed for seven years; I was unable to study, and we went hungry. That leaves traces.

[David] The East European borders are open; the Soviet borders will probably also be open soon. Will the people not just leave their country because things do not go fast enough?

[Sik] I do not see the danger for the CSFR. It is different in Yugoslavia or the GDR where the people leave because they can earn five or ten times as much in West Germany.

[David] Will East Europe with its low wages continue to be the Mezzogiorno [southern area of Italy noted for its low wages]?

[Sik] That is even a prerequisite to make the transition to the market economy possible. However, wage conflicts involving strikes at an early stage could obstruct this development. In the foreseeable future, production must increase much more than wages.

[David] Do the trade unions agree to this?

[Sik] I think people in the CSFR are better informed than in other East European countries that the transition to the market economy is a very complex process. That is not least attributable to the Prague Spring. We had years in which to discuss the weak points and the consequences. The majority of the people are aware that wages cannot keep up with productivity. In the GDR it is different; the people there were plunged into cold water unprepared.

[David] In the GDR, investments from the West have lagged far behind expectations. What are your experiences in the CSFR?

[Sik] I attended many negotiations with Western firms. Volkswagen, Siemens, Western Electric, and other large concerns which have an interest in joint ventures and—something we consider particularly important—production in the CSFR. They are also prepared to go into enterprises that still produce losses. We must try to get such enterprises on their feet soon so we do not have to sell them for nothing. That is impossible without aid from the state.

[David] The Soviet Union has long tried to attract joint ventures, however, without much success.

[Sik] There is a huge difference between our two states. Western investors have meanwhile realized that. We do not have high debts in the West and have a backward but balanced production structure. Unlike the markets in Poland and the USSR, our market is not empty. Some Western investors even expect to sell in the West some of the goods they produce in cooperation with the CSFR to obtain the required hard currency, because they must invest in the CSFR in Western currencies. In this way, the train will gradually start rolling. Not everything is scrap in East Europe. For instance, the Skoda automobile works have highly modern departments that are really qualified for cooperation and joint ventures with the West. Promising talks are being held with Austria, particularly in the area of tourism.

[David] With whom specifically?

[Sik] It is too early to mention names.

General Public Should Decide on Nuclear Power

AU2609141390 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 20 Sep 90 p 2

[Zdenek John commentary: "Two Faults in the Principle"]

[Text] The nuclear power plant in Bohunice has two faults that are used by its opponents as their most powerful weapons in the sharp polemics. First, as far as seismicity is concerned, it is built in the second least suitable location for a nuclear plant in Czechoslovakia. Only one area near Komarno is worse off with regard to the potential earthquake. The second fault, described last week by Minister Josef Vavrousek as a principal one, lies in the fact that the concept of the Bohunice-type blocks is antiquated. A lot of water has passed under the bridge since the concept was formed in the middle of 1960's, and a lot of knowledge was acquired in the area of safety in the nuclear power production.

It is neither the end of our days nor of the expert-commission visits to Bohunice. Nevertheless, all signs indicate that the weakest link in the Czechoslovak nuclear chain will not only survive the New Year but a few months on top of that. The federal government is of the opinion that although the risk of running two blocks of the power station V-1 is higher than usual in the world, it is acceptable under our conditions.

I believe that every comparison in the case of nuclear power production is necessarily is lame. The statistical calculations proving a much higher danger in automobile transport (because hundreds of people die regularly weekend after weekend on the roads) simply cannot be considered as conclusive proof. The peculiarity of nuclear power is that it has always engendered more concern than any other human activity. Precisely that is the reason that the significant problems in this area should always be dealt with by all involved. The experts should explain to the laymen all possibilities, and the laymen should then tell the experts which of the possibilities they chose.

It is true that at Thursday's [13 September] press conference Minister Josef Vavrousek accepted personal responsibility for the decision to continue with the power production in Jaslovske Bohunice, but prior to that he got the blessing of the other government members at the session of the federal government. Hence, one can draw the conclusion that the fate of the nuclear plant and therewith also the acceptable maximum risk was decided in government circles. The decision was made by a close circle of experts without asking for the opinion of the lay public.

It is interesting that with much less hazardous steps the government (actually some of its ministers) comes to

explain to, let us say consult, the parliament. This was, for instance, the case with increasing the price of gasoline. The step deciding on the limits on the operators of nuclear plants, however, was not accorded this "honor."

I intentionally do not call for a referendum because the talk about it, so far, in Czechoslovakia has been only theoretical. Obviously this is because there is not much of a tradition of referendums, and also because there are still no clear legal regulations for them. Nonetheless, I believe that it is a principal error that in its dealing with the nuclear power issue the government did not utilize the parliament elected by almost all citizens.

Civic Forum Weekly Attacks Slovak Premier

AU2609134690 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 21 Sep 90 p 3

[Reprint of a "JaV"-signed commentary published in issue No. 32 of FORUM, the Civic Forum weekly: "Why They Did Not Want the French President in Slovakia"]

[Text] The report which we received from "well-informed sources" to the effect that during Francois Mitterrand's visit [to Czechoslovakia earlier this month], Slovak Deputy Premier Miklosko [title as published] sent a telegram to Prague saying that the French president better not go to Slovakia because he is not wanted there smacks of sensationalism. As there were also other indications of disagreement [over the French president's visit], we tried to find out what the bone of contention was.

We discovered that, according to the original protocol prepared by the Office of the President of the Republic, the French president was to receive [Slovak Premier] Vladimir Meciar in his Bratislava hotel suite and this had greatly infuriated the Slovak representation. Premier Meciar demanded that he receive the French president at Bratislava Castle. When this demand was turned down for understandable reasons, the aforementioned indignant telegram followed. In the end [Federal Assembly Chairman] Alexander Dubcek himself had to save the situation by politely asking Mr. Mitterrand if he would mind meeting representatives of the Slovak Republic somewhere in the city. The French president did not see any problem with that and, in the end, the meeting took place at an acceptable location, in the building of the Slovak National Council.

Although one cannot fail to see the absolutely insensitive approach on the part of the protocol department of the Office of the President of the Republic, a question hovers over the conduct of Mr. Meciar—how serious is he about leaving jurisdiction [over foreign affairs] to the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs if he wants to act as the head of state? This is, unfortunately, one of the problems about which Vaclav Havel spoke quite clearly in the Federal Assembly. Such conflicts reinforce in foreign partners doubts about the internal stability and integrity of the Czechoslovak state. Unfortunately, this is not the only question of principle on which there exists no clarity and the tackling of which has been tactfully avoided until now. The same doubts are also aroused by the endeavors of the Slovak Government to have it enshrined in law that Slovak be the sole official language, which would significantly violate the human rights of national minorities. The demand by Premier Meciar that the federal Army safeguard the southern border [of Slovakia] in order to carry out suppression of national minorities is hypocritical in the overall context.

Slovak Government Daily Responds to Meciar Attack

AU2609134790 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 21 Sep 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Meciar a Thorn in the Flesh! The Prague Federalists Miss No Opportunity"]

[Text] Despite the optimistic assessments which followed the talks between the three governments at Piestany, the [predicted] idyll in Czech-Slovak relations has not come to pass. Evidence of this was provided by President Vaclav Havel in his speech in the federal parliament as well as by his premier, Marian Calfa, who could not resist remarking that in the process of shaping a new structure of the federal state, we should not "confront one another with faits accomplis," which was an obvious allusion to some initiatives from the Slovak side. Even more problematic in this context is the article in the latest issue of the weekly, FORUM, entitled "Why They Did Not Want the French President in Slovakia." In view of the fact that this newspaper is published by the Civic Forum Coordinating Center, one cannot leave this article unnoticed.

What is startling is the professional illiteracy or deliberate political ignorance of the author, who signed the article only with a sign as though he did not have the courage to shield with his own name the half-truths and untruths served to gullible Czech readers. I speak deliberately about gullibility as there is no other explanation for the reactions of Prague citizens who complained about the absence of many Slovak deputies at the session of the federal parliament during President Vaclav Havel's speech. The Czech journalists painted such a picture of the situation, as though the delayed landing of the plane from Bratislava with Slovak deputies on board were not a sufficient justification for their absence in parliament.

Some Slovak readers may be outraged at the fact that the author of the FORUM article does not even know the name of the chairman of the Slovak National Council. Otherwise he would not be able to write that "during Francois Mitterrand's visit, Slovak Deputy Premier Miklosko sent a telegram to Prague saying that the French president better not travel to Slovakia because they do not want him there." First of all, it needs to be said that the mentioned telegram of Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council, was addressed to Prague Castle, which is where the perpetrators of the affair over the French president's visit to Bratislava sit.

It was there that the diplomatic incident was instigated by the plan to hold the meeting of representatives of the Slovak Republic with the French president in the former party hotel Borik. Bratislava Castle as the seat of the Slovak state representation and the residence of the CSFR president in Bratislava somehow did not suit them, even though two years ago Francois Mitterrand had met there with collaborator Viliam Salgovic [the then chairman of the Slovak National Council] and other representatives of the former totalitarian regime. Why should this place not provide a dignified framework for the democratically elected representatives of the Slovak nation to welcome the French president?

In other words, the complications were not brought about by the French side but were provoked by the Office of the President of the Republic. It was for this reason that on 13 September the Presidium of the Slovak National Council and the Government of the Slovak Republic discussed the program of Francois Mitterrand's visit and adopted the stand which Frantisek Miklosko then communicated to the Castle. It stated that the Slovak representation is ready to receive President F. Mitterrand at Bratislava Castle, which is the symbol of Slovak statehood and the official seat of the supreme legislative body of the Slovak Republic; a meeting with the French president under other circumstances and at a different location would devalue the significance of his visit to Slovakia.

The hidden meaning of the anti-Slovak attack in the weekly FORUM was deciphered by its author himself when he coupled his criticism leveled at Bratislava with an attack on Premier Vladimir Meciar. There is no need to deal with it in any great detail because a judicious reader will form an opinion without any explanation. It does not even matter that the author adopted the assertion of radical Hungarian nationalists about the national oppression of Hungarians in southern Slovakia. For some time already, we have been observing attempts on the Czech part to use the "Hungarian card" against Slovaks. As for the safeguarding of our southern border by the "federal army," this is another fact torn out of context because the idea to deploy Czechoslovak Army units along the entire border of the federation is shared also by President Vaclav Havel.

Poll Indicates Parties in Power Losing Popularity

LD2609215290 Prague CTK in English 2054 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 26 (CTK)—The Slovak National Party is the only party which would gain new voters, while the Civil Form and the Public Against Violence—the parties which won the last June elections—are losing popularity according to a poll conducted by the Institute for Research of Public Opinion.

The poll conducted from September 4-11 showed that 33 per cent of voters would vote for the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence nowadays which is by ten per cent less on average than in the last June elections.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has the confidence of nine per cent of the respondents which is by four per cent less than in the last June elections and the coalition the Christian Democratic Union/the Christian Democratic Movement would be voted also by nine per cent of the respondents which is by three per cent less than last June.

Of the polled persons, 24 per cent would vote for the Slovak National Party, which is by ten per cent more than in June.

Klaus Attends IMF Session in Washington

LD2609224890 Prague CTK in English 2003 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Text] Washington Sept 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus has said here that the soaring oil prices and the transiton of member state of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) to payments in convertible currencies force Czechoslovakia to ask advanced countries for aid in introducing reforms and overcoming difficulties.

Klaus is attending the annual session of the International Monetary Fund here. His talks, which can be characterized as successful, indicated that aid to Czechoslovakia and the other East European countries will be coordinated by the European communities, with the IMF, individual governments and commercial banks contributing. The extent of the assistance has not been disclosed as yet. Financial resources are expected to help Czechoslovakia's transition to market economy and check the destabilizing effects of the current development on the oil markets and in the CMEA member states.

Klaus held talks with IMF leading representative Michel Camdessus who will visit Czechoslovakia in October, with president-designate of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Jacques Attali, president of the German Bundes Bank Karl-Otto Pohl and vice president of the Commission of the European Communities Henig Christopherson.

Views 'Unique Opportunity'

LD2609225390 Prague CTK in English 2103 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Text] Washington Sept 26 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus stressed that Czechoslovakia had a unique "chance to reverse more than 40 years of communist dogma, intolerance, and rigidity, or irrational economic arrangements and disastrous economic policies."

Addressing the joint annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Board of Governors here today, he recalled the events in Czechoslovakia and pointed out: "History will never forgive us if we do not seize this unique opportunity."

According to him, Czechs and Slovaks realized that the only way to improve their standard of living was to abolish central planning, control of prices, wages, the exchange rate, and foreign trade and to radically change the system of ownership rights.

Klaus, Tosovsky on Membership

AU2809073990 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 20 Sep 90 p 4

[Interview with CSFR Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus and Czechoslovak State Bank Chairman Josef Tosovsky, by unidentified CTK correspondent; place and date not given: "We Are Entering the Fund"]

[Text] [CTK] Mr. Minister, could you briefly summarize what preceded this day, as far as our return to the IMF and the World Bank is concerned?

[Klaus] Above all, there was an enormous amount of preparatory work, followed by negotiations, consultations, and collecting necessary economic information. The legal aspects of our membership are a separate chapter. Finally, the repayment of membership quotas cannot be neglected either. The entire process will culminate with the signing of agreements on entry into the fund on Thursday [20 September] and into the World Bank and its affiliations on Friday [21 September]. I would like to emphasize that, in recent weeks, the IMF and the World Bank behaved toward us as if we already were their regular members.

[CTK] Could you briefly tell us your opinion on the quality of the working relations that you have established with the IMF and the World Bank?

[Klaus] On both sides there was exceptional goodwill; we have approached one another, so to speak, with our visors raised. Despite this, the experts had to be given some explanations in order to change some priority ideas with which they came to Czechoslovakia.

[CTK] They say that to the financial world the acquisition of an IMF loan represents some kind of a seal of credibility of our reform program, on the basis of which the European Community, as well individual countries and banks, consider possible credits.

[Klaus] The membership has material as well as immaterial advantages. Among the former belong the aforementioned loans, as well as consultations with experts. The other advantage—the immaterial dimension—is that by entering the IMF we are joining the club whose members are, figuratively speaking, on a first name basis. In reference to the week which I am going to spend in Washington, actions directly connected with the meeting itself are only a fraction of the entire activity. In no case can it be said that we are going to the United States to rest; on the contrary, we will be establishing contacts that can significantly help our reforms.

[CTK] Could you tell us with whom will you specifically meet in Washington?

[Klaus] In Washington we will probably meet with American President George Bush. A number of finance ministers and presidents of large banks will also be there. Contacts with the FRG are, in our opinion, of great importance now and this is why I am looking forward to meeting again Federal Finance Minister T. Waigel and Bundesbank President Poehl. During Mrs. Thatcher's visit, we spoke about the necessity of meeting British Chancellor of Exchequer J. Major. I must speak with my Polish colleague, L. Balcerowicz. I would like to stress the importance of the meeting with the representatives of the so-called Belgian IMF election group, whose members are Belgium, Luxembourg, Austria, Hungary, and Turkey and to which Czechoslovakia will also belong.

[CTK] Can we count on a stabilization loan as of 1 January next year, when the reform should reach full speed?

[Tosovsky] I think that it will be difficult to obtain the stabilization loan so soon.

[CTK] Rumors have it that we had to pay a part of our membership fees on 19 September. How much truth is there to it?

[Tosovsky] Yes, to be quite frank, a sort of "organizational hitch" has happened and we really had to pay admission fees on 19 September. To make things clear—seven million dollars is not an amount that would put Czechoslovakia in danger—the thing is that we counted on a two-month period and learned the new deadline at the last moment. The problem is that if you give a payment order it takes usually two days before the money gets to the recipient. So we had to look for ways of speeding up the transfer. I assume that everything will be in order, that the fee will be paid on 20 September, and that nothing will prevent our entry.

Oil Crisis Linked With Entry

LD2809101890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus reported on his talks in the United States in connection with our country's entry in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. As he said, it was necessary to convince the representatives from West Europe and North America about the need to provide a more significant assistance to our country regarding the changed conditions in the world.

As Vaclav Klaus said, the Czechoslovak delegation has managed to push through the idea that our country has been directly affected by the oil crisis in three aspects: by the rise of oil prices, by the collapse of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and by the breakdown of central power in the Soviet Union.

Dienstbier Meets Foreign Leaders in New York

Establishes Diplomatic Ties With Cameroon

LD2809094290 Prague CTK in English 0808 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] New York, Sept. 28 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and Cameroon Foreign Minister Jacques Roger Booh-Booh signed here on Thursday an agreement on establishment of diplomatic ties between their countries. The Czechoslovak ambassador will reside in Lagos.

During the two ministers' talks, Jiri Dienstbier informed his counterpart of Czechoslovakia's interest in imports of oil from Cameroon, and of possibilities of sending Czechoslovak doctors, geologists, timber mining, and other experts to Cameroon.

Jiri Dienstbier, in New York in connection with the UN General Assembly session, met yesterday also with FRG Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. He recalled that the Prague appeal of the Charter 77 civil rights movement was the first document of social forces outside Germany calling for unification of Germany.

The two statesmen agreed that talks should be started early to solve the difficulties caused to Czechoslovakia by the Gulf crisis and the dramatic cuts in economic relations with the GDR. The two ministers will visit the other country soon.

Jiri Dienstbier also met with his Dutch counterpart Hans Van Den Broek who informed him that the Netherlands will back the creation of a stand-by fund of the European communities and the Group of 24 advanced industrial countries to support the introduction of internal convertibility of the Czechoslovak crown (and other East European currencies) and for cushioning the impact of growing oil prices.

The Czechoslovak representative told Yemeni Foreign Minister 'Abd-al-Karim al-'Iryani that in the interest of maintaining relations at a good level, Czechoslovakia will preserve in addition to its embassy in Sana, also its mission in Aden which will be turned into a general consulate.

Discussing the Gulf situation, Mr. Dienstbier said that only a resolute stance of the international community can ensure that violations of the UN charter be successfully solved in the future. The Yemeni minister voiced himself for a Gulf settlement through talks.

In the evening, Jiri Dienstbier left for Washington to hold talks with U.S. Government officials.

Meets Italian, PRC, Venezuelan Leaders

LD2709090890 Prague CTK in English 0726 GMT 27 Sep 90

[By CTK correspondent]

[Text] New York Sept 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier met here Wednesday his Italian colleague and current president of the European Community Gianni de Michelis.

They discussed concrete possibilities of Czechoslovakia's cooperation with the European Community and the Group of 24 developed countries in the reform of the Czechoslovak economy and in overcoming problems caused by the growth of oil prices.

According to the Italian minister Czechoslovakia should present to the European Community, the Group of 24 and its partners in the Pentagonal Initiative (Austria, Italy, Hungary, and Yugoslavia) an analysis of its requirements arising from the reform and from losses caused by participation in the embargo against Iraq.

Mr. Dienstbier also conferred with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen on economic cooperation in the new conditions. More specific talks will be held in Beijing next November. Mr. Dienstbier hoped that the consequences of last year's events in the Tiananmen Square would be positively overcome. He said that Czechoslovakia recognizes one China. The Chinese minister appreciated this stand and said that China was not opposed to commercial contacts on a private or enterprise basis, at nongovernmental level, with Taiwan.

On the same day Jiri Dienstbier met with Venezuelan Foreign Minister Reinaldo Figueredo. They discussed the possibilities of Czechoslovakia's imports of Venezuelan oil and told his colleague about the Czechoslovak potential of exporting complete plants.

Both ministers appreciated the start of dialogue between East European states and a group of eight Latin American countries. On Friday, the countries concerned will hold a meeting in New York to specify the spheres and mechanisms of possible economic cooperation.

Jiri Dienstbier and Reinaldo Figueredo condemned Iraq's aggression against Kuwait and noted with concern its consequences for the international political situation and for the economies of quite a number of countries in connection with the enormous growth of oil prices.

Consular, Legal Issues Discussed With FRG

AU2709105090 Prague CTK in English 1229 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bonn Sep 25 (CTK correspondent)— Representatives of the Czechoslovak and West German Foreign Ministries discussed cooperation in legal matters and consular services after the reunification of Germany in talks here September 24 and 25.

Director of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Consular Affairs Department Bronislav Kulawiec said that both sides agreed to cooperate to facilitate the stays of visitors.

The opening of a Czechoslovak General Consulate in Munich depends only on finding a suitable building in the Bavarian capital. Czechoslovakia would like the General Consulate to be working fully before the end of the year, Kulawiec said.

As far as agreements between Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic are concerned, both sides agreed that whatever has been useful and would be acceptable also for new relations with the reunited Germany should be preserved.

FRG, U.S. Firms Offer Nuclear Power Equipment

AU2709143490

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 19 September on page 2, under the title "Westinghouse vs. Siemens," publishes a 450-word "rs"-signed report on the interest being shown by the American Westinghouse Electric and the German Siemens companies in cooperation with the Czech Skoda enterprise in constructing and supplying the technical equipment for the nuclear power industry in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. According to the report, the major reason for the interest is the fact that neither of the giant companies can expect to build a nuclear power plant at home for quite some time.

"RS" notes that a news conference took place in Prague (no date given) at which John B. Yasinsky, vice president of the Westinghouse Power Production Division, was present. According to the report, nothing new was said, "but already the concretization of the offer to Skoda, and thus to the whole of Czechoslovakia, is worth mentioning. The Westinghouse company is offering a transfer of complete nuclear technology, from the construction of nuclear power plants to the processing and storing of nuclear fuel. It does not want to produce only nuclear reactors and accessories in cooperation with Skoda but also equipment for conventional power stations and, in the event that Westinghouse receives the order for the control and command system of the Mochovce nuclear power plant, then Skoda will get the order for the conventional turbines and generators immediately."

The author of the report also asked Eberhard Schomer, director of the KWU [expansion unknown] Gruppe of Siemens AG, "i.e., the branch manufacturing power producing equipment," for his comments. This gentleman, according to the report, argued for using well-tested equipment, preferably from the FRG.

The report concludes with the observation that both companies have presented their offer and now it is up to the ministries, enterprises, and the legislators in the CSFR.

Prospects for Joining European Parliament Noted

LD2609205890 Prague CTK in English 1854 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 26 (CTK)—European Parliament delegation member Thomas Spencer told newsmen today that, in his opinion, Czechoslovakia might become member of the European Parliament within six to seven years.

In this connection, he pointed out that the Czechoslovak parliament now passes many bills and that it would be reasonable to elaborate them in harmony with the community to which Czechoslovakia wants to be admitted.

Mrs. Kirsten Jensen, head of the European Parliament delegation which has been visiting Czechoslovakia since Monday, described the meeting with members of the Czechoslovak supreme legislative body as an important item on the agenda of the delegation. In the course of the meeting, prospects for Czechoslovakia's associate membership in the European Community were discussed.

Chairman of the Federal Assembly House of Nations Foreign Relations Committee Pavol Suchan considered this meeting a breakthrough in Czechoslovakia's efforts to enter Europe since the current visit is the first official contact between the Czechoslovak and the European parliaments.

The members of the delegation stated that the European Parliament would like to start with regular exchanges of information with the Federal Assembly and would like to extend its library.

After the press conference, the European Parliament deputies left for the Slovak capital of Bratislava.

Planned OF, VPN Visit to USSR Called Unpopular

AU2609124290 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 20 Sep 90 p 4

[Jan Kastanek commentary: "Do They Go to Moscow To Learn?"]

[Text] The telex that taps out the CTK news about events at home and abroad announced yesterday a rather interesting piece of news: A delegation of Civic Forum [OF] and of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement will go on an official visit to Moscow, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The delegation includes such renowned Civic Forum representatives as Mr. Petr Kucera and Mrs. Dagmar Havlova. There is no need to ask about the purpose of such an important visit, Mr. Vladimir Zelezny, press spokesman of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center, explains to the CTK correspondent: The reason is that Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movement are, just like the CPSU, the leading force in the society. Or better said, it is the force that won the elections. The Soviet side came to the conclusion that it would be useful to be in contact with

these movements. Asked whether they would endeavor to gain the release of the so-called "letter of invitation"—i.e., the letter, which was supposed to be a kind of a legal basis for the occupation called "fraternal international assistance"—or whether the delegation will be interested in the confirmation of Soviet oil supplies—i.e., the oil owed us by the USSR—the answer was evasive. They just want to get in contact.

And why not? I can already see and hear the sarcastic comments in discussions and the unpleasant letters from readers. Are Civic Forum and the CPSU the leading force in the societoes? Yes—although both here and there many people, even lots and lots of people, do not like it. Moreover, the leading forces should band together, otherwise they might be in danger of not being able to hold onto their avant-garde role. After all, to learn from the Soviet Union is nothing new. Klement Gottwald himself visited the USSR in order to learn how to wring the necks of the bourgeois democrats—and that he learned well is demonstrated, for instance, by the fact that the political prisoners are unable to compile the number of their fellows who were executed in the 1950's. Other leading representatives went there to learn—Zapotocky, Novotny, more recently Husak and Jakes. Furthermore, it was always considered to be a matter of course. They are our model and we are with them for ever.... The fact that such contacts should rather be developed on the state level and that priority should be given to such serious issues as the withdrawal of the illegally deployed troops, or payment for damages, and other matters—yes, it may be so, but in the past, the leading force also travelled to Moscow first, and only then its members in the state or economic posts.... And it is even quite modest on their part—the delegation of Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movement will not fly by a special flight but by a scheduled one, and it will not even pass through the welcoming passage—well, perhaps only in Moscow, according to the local custom, because they have a good sense for who really is in charge.

Hence, citizens, let us be reasonable. And please, do not say that only the communists used to go to meetings in Moscow. After all, Civic Forum, something between a political party and a movement, contains a very broad spectrum of opinion and it does not suffer a shortage of former owners of the little red book. The Soviets issued the invitation, and it is polite to accept it. Still a year ago, nobody would dare to doubt it, and if so, then only at home and very quietly....

Hungarian Minority Roundtable Assails Meciar

LD2609214990 Prague CTK in English 2107 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 26 (CTK)—Miklos Duray, a representative of the Coexistence Party, said here today he considered Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar an illegitimate premier as "he is not part of the stream, which should bring Czechoslovakia back to Europe."

At a meeting representatives of the Hungarian Independent Initiative, of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement and the Coexistence Party informed journalists and the public about the development of their political movements since their registration to the election of their representatives to lawmaking bodies. The Hungarian Independent Initiative is in coalition with the Public Against Violence (sister movement of the Civic Forum); it has four deputies in the Czechoslovak National Assembly and six deputies in the Slovak National Council (parliament). The Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement won in the last June elections in coalition with the Coexistence Party seven seats in the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly and eight seats in the Slovak National Council.

Hungarian officials also discussed the so-called language law, which should, according to a proposal of a group of deputies of the Slovak National Party, enact the Slovak language as the only official language in Slovakia. Miklos Duray said in this connection that such a law should not exist because a language of the majority, in contrast to the language of the minority, need not be protected by law. If this bill is going to be passed, which Mr. Duray doubted, a law on the usage of the language of minorities should be introduced.

Asked for the opinion of the representatives of Hungarian minority on former Ruthenia becoming part of Czechoslovakia, Ferenc Szorcz, the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly deputy for the Coexistence Party replied that this was beyond the sphere of the party's interests.

Minister of Economy Opens Talks in Japan

AU2709115490 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Sep 90 p 4

[CTK report: "Talks About Credit"]

[Text] Tokyo—Vladimir Dlouhy, CSFR economy minister, began a week-long working visit to Japan yesterday. The visit takes place at the invitation of Taro Nakayama, Japanese foreign minister. Yesterday he met with senior officials from the Government Office for Economic Planning, with whom he discussed the government's structural policy and macroeconomic planning. He also met leading officials from the Export-Import ANK Bank, which, among other things, is responsible for credit support when implementing official Japanese foreign aid. In both cases, the Japanese officials expressed interest in specific steps in support of reform efforts in the Czechoslovak economy. Accordingly, talks between Minister Dlouhy and members of the Japanese cabinet, with the foreign minister and with the finance minister in particular, and representatives of the private sector will be of great importance.

Polish Defense Chief Arrives on Official Visit

LD2609205690 Prague CTK in English 1851 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 26 (CTK)—Polish Defence Minister Vice Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk, who arrived here today on an official visit to Czechoslovakia, and Czechoslovak Defence Minister Army General Miroslav Vacek discussed international topics and problems in their countries' armies.

The Czechoslovak as well as the Polish Army will have to tackle similar problems. The ministers paid attention mainly to the gradual professionalization of their armies.

Havel Receives Papal Nuncio's Credentials

AU2709104990 Prague CTK in English 1648 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sep 25 (CTK)— Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel received here today Vatican Nuncio Archbishop Giovanni Coppa, who presented his credentials.

Official relations between Czechoslovakia and the Vatican were established on October 24, 1919 and diplomatic relations on March 22, 1920 when the first Czechoslovak Ambassador to the Vatican Kamil Krofta presented his credentials. Clemente Micara became the first Vatican nuncio in Czechoslovakia on September 9, 1920. Since their severance on March 15, 1939, diplomatic relations were not fully resumed for 50 years. The last internuncio Xavier Ritter left Czechoslovakia after February 1948. The Czechoslovak Embassy in the Vatican was closed at the end of April 1950.

Czechoslovak-Vatican relations were fully resumed only at the beginning of this year. On the basis of an agreement on the resumption of diplomatic relations Papal Nuncio Archbishop Giovanni Coppa has arrived in Prague recently.

PRC Trade Minister Hoping for Trade Agreement

LD2709174790 Prague CTK in English 1634 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 27 (CTK)—Chinese Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade Zheng Tuobin arrived here today on a three-day official visit in the course of which he will meet with Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales and representatives of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade.

He arrived with the aim to sign a trade agreement between the Czechoslovak and the Chinese Governments which will provide for payments in convertible currencies in mutual trade after January 1, 1991. Under discussion will be also commercial issues interesting for both sides.

Special Envoy Presents Credentials to 'Arafat

AU2609185890 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Sep 90 p 5

[WAFA report: "Y. 'Arafat Received Czechoslovak Ambassador"]

[Text] Tunis—Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), received the credentials of Ivo Kubes, CSFR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, in Tunis yesterday. On this festive occasion, the Czechoslovak ambassador surveyed the Palestinian honor guard. The solemn act was attended also by Faruq Qaddumi, Palestinian minister of foreign affairs; Hakam Bal'awi, the PLO representative in Tunis; and S. Muslim, director of the president's office.

Notice to Readers: *Beginning 4 Oct, the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT as well as the GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC sections of the East Europe DAILY REPORT and the East Europe JPRS Report will cease publication. Also on that date, the FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT will be renamed GERMANY. The GERMANY section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT will include the kind of material previously published under the FRG, GDR, and German Unification titles, as well as material previously found in the GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC sections of the East Europe JPRS Report.*

Interior Minister Expects Increased Terrorism

LD2709151490 Hamburg DPA in German 1403 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—GDR Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union], expects a growth in the terrorist oriented left-wing scene "in the foreseeable future." According to an ADN report, he stated at a press conference in East Berlin today quoting the Federal Criminal Investigation Office, that there are "well-founded grounds for suspicion" that extremist and terrorist groups are trying to tap and use the territory of the GDR as an area of operation.

On the other hand, there was a fall in other areas of crime, Diestel stressed. This is particularly true of homicide and rapes. On the other hand, the security authorities registered an "enormous rise" in enquiries into cases of robbery and blackmail as well as in enquiries into threatened acts of violence. Young people are also becoming increasingly involved in criminal acts. No less a cause for concern is the hostility toward foreigners which is increasingly occupying the guardians of law and order.

Stasi Allegedly Organized Special Murder Units

AU2709104490 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 27 Sep 90 p 1

[Werner Kalinka report: "Special Stasi (State Security Service) Unit of 300 Men for Killings and Terrorism in the West"]

[Text] Bonn—The leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] organized a special troop within the Stasi [State Security Service] system whose task was to carry out murders and terrorist attacks in "case of tension." As was revealed in Bonn, the unit included some 300 men. On the average, every Stasi bezirk administration was represented by 15 to 20 employees, whose "training camp" was located in a strictly guarded area in the north of the GDR. One member of the unit stated: "I have been trained as a terrorists and murderer."

Thus, the Ministry for State Security [MfS] had forces that could be ordered at any time to kill somebody in the West. Such operations were carried out under absolute top secrecy. They were centrally controlled by the "AGMS" [expansion unknown], the working group in the MfS that reported directly to Stasi head Erich Mielke. In the subordinate MfS authorities, the leader's work group was responsible. The direct chiefs of the members of the unit did not know anything about the actual tasks of the members.

An informer reported that they were shown "numerous possibilities" of how to kill a person. The Stasi forces unconditionally supported the goals of the SED in the struggle against "imperialism." "We had to be ready to sacrifice our lives, and we would have done it," he stated. A stand-by system ensured that a sufficiently large number of groups were available at any time, day and night. A "case of tension" in MfS terminology did not necessarily mean a state of war. These troops would also have been used to destabilize the political landscape in the FRG. It had comprehensive knowledge about important politicians and economic leaders. They "knew what was what," as has been claimed proudly. This knowledge extended to leading figures at the level of the laender.

The "basic training" took place in a six-month course and was brushed up after about one year in a four-week course. Three to four times a year, individual groups were trained together for one week. They used to depart for the camp from Berlin's Sports Forum. The unit received complete training in hand-to-hand combat. Training in the use of firearms ("We fired shots with all kinds of weapons, mainly Western ones, but also with firearms produced in the East") was particularly intensive, even including firing from helicopters. The training included hand-to-hand combat exercises; the setting of explosive traps; attacks on trains, pipelines, oil refineries, and industrial plants; and the use of contact poison—which was probably used to kill former soccer player Lutz Eigendorf in Braunschweig. Without specifically referring to the Eigendorf case, one member of the unit stated that it was "easy," if somebody was known to have a special liking for beer and fast cars, "to put something into his beer or to apply contact poison on the handle of the door of his car." The rest was even easier because the troop received excellent training on how to cover up their tracks. The special unit was not only able to simulate road accidents perfectly, but it also knew how to feign suicides in the case of violent crimes.

When carrying out exercises with explosives, they also used semtex, the material from Czechoslovakia used by terrorists in attacks on planes. This kind of explosive is particularly feared by security authorities because it is untraceable. The unit was also able to carry out terrorist attacks with photoelectric beams, the terrible method that has been applied by members of the Red Army Faction. Letter bombs were frequently used, which, as a consequence, were also possible in closed rooms as a result of using "door contact explosions." [sentence as published] If somebody entered a room and an ignition was triggered, an explosion took place. Every group

consisted of five persons, with a relationship of 1:4, that is, one "leader," two "fighters," one wireless operator, and one person who triggered the explosion. Each one of them was able to replace every other person in the group. However, at the beginning MfS employees were used in such a way that they could use their special knowledge.

Concerning operations in the FRG, the order provided for the groups to work on their own. They could not rely on help from MfS agents or unofficial staff. For training purposes they were abandoned in the GDR in the course of a two-week hand-to-hand combat course. "We had to manage somehow," one of the participants in the training course stated. Contacts with the German Communist Party [DKP], a former instrument of the predecessor of the Party of Democratic Socialism, SED, were strictly banned. The MfS leadership around Honecker's confidante Erich Mielke proceeded from the assumption that the security authorities were so well informed about the DKP that in the case of contacts between the DKP and their secret operation units, the units' possibilities would have been limited.

Former Leaders' Stasi Files Kept Separately

LD2609195190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1814 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Former Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo members gave themselves a clean slate as a result of a decree by the Stasi [State Security Service], the newspaper 'DER MORGEN' states in its Thursday [27 September] edition. The paper quotes findings acquired by the People's Chamber committee.

In response to queries, the committee announced that files on "persons in top public functions" were not allowed to be maintained. They were probably kept "separate" and stored elsewhere. Committee member Christian Ladwig stated that relevant motions are therefore probably to be expected in the People's Chamber in order to gain access to party archives.

The archives of mass organizations and institutions such as the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation], Free German Youth, Soviet-German Friendship Society, and National Council and Solidarity Committee must thus be subjected to a thorough investigation. Experts suspect a particularly close link between the FDGB and the Ministry for State Security [MfS]. The trade unions are currently trying to block access to the informative archives for 30 years, the newspaper article states.

'DER MORGEN' adds that in investigating the officers on special assignment, the special committee has so far processed 2,448 of these MfS employees. Committee Secretary David Gill has given the following figures for the present state of the officers on special assignment structure in nine out of 15 bezirks: Potsdam (33), Chemnitz (37), Suhl (13), Frankfurt/Oder (35), Rostock (51), Magdeburg (47), Dresden (73), Schwerin (14), and Leipzig (33).

'DER MORGEN' concludes: "The Berlin Stasi headquarters employed more officers on special assignment in the areas. Hundreds of these secret officers are also established in the ministries. It is estimated that there are over 200 of them in the Foreign Ministry alone. By contrast, very few MfS officers employed in industry can now be traced, because the sole source, the 'general business trip project,' in which over 6,000 cadres able to travel to the West were listed by the XVIII (economy) department in the MfS, was destroyed under Modrow."

The article was pre-released to ADN.

15 Deputies Accused of Collaboration With Stasi

LD2709180890 Hamburg DPA in German 1715 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—According to a report from the GDR daily newspaper, DER MORGAN, there will probably be 15 parliamentarians taking part in tomorrow's penultimate session of the GDR People's Chamber, which is a special session dealing with the disbanding of the former State Security Service [Stasi], "who it can be clearly proved formerly collaborated with the Minister for State Security."

According to ADN the newspaper reports about material at its disposal in which these deputies are distributed among the various parliamentary groups as follows: Christian Democratic Union, six; Free Democratic Party, four; Party for Democratic Socialism, three; and the Social Democratic Party, two. The editorial office knows the names. Alliance 90 and the German Social Union are not affected. "There are three ministers among the former State Security Ministry workers in the People's Chamber," the report states.

According to the paper it emerged from parliamentary circles that the members of the People's Chamber special committee held personal talks with all the deputies concerned during which it was suggested to the deputies that they resign immediately.

Foreign Minister Cited on Soviet Oil Exports

LD2709092290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0400 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Gyoergy Bolgar in New York; date not given—recorded]

[Text] According to Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, it is promising that the Soviet Union, as an oil-producing country and within the framework of international cooperation, is willing to support countries which are facing difficulties because of Iraqi aggression. Gyoergy Bolgar interviewed the foreign minister in New York.

[Begin recording] [Jeszenszky] Their intentions are very commendable and can be considered very new. As to what will happen in practice or how it will occur, I do not know. It would be very good if the Soviet Union could increase its oil production as a result of the crisis. This would be advantageous for both the USSR and the world.

[Bolgar] This is only an idea at this point, not reality. More details should be published about this.

Geza Jeszenszky will meet Shevardnadze this weekend. Before that, he will hold a number of bilateral talks with foreign ministers he had not met yet. He will deliver several lectures at various universities. Yesterday afternoon he spoke optimistically at Columbia University's Central and Eastern European Institute about hope for the gradual elimination of national and minority conflicts in Central and Eastern European countries. [end recording]

Soviet Oil Deliveries Resume 27 Sep

LD2709155490 Budapest Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Soviet crude oil has been flowing again to Hungary since noon today.

An official of the Szazhalambotta oil refinery said that, for the time being, there is no gasoline shortage because all three production plants are in operation, although at reduced capacity.

Antall Briefed on Soviet Troop Withdrawal Talks

LD2709214390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Prime Minister Jozsef Antall has received the Soviet minister for external economic relations. Konstantin Katushev is heading a government delegation which is holding negotiations in Budapest about economic issues relating to the Soviet troop withdrawal.

The talks were attended by the Hungarian minister of defense and the government commissioners of the two countries. At the meeting, Jozsef Antall was briefed about the negotiations between the government delegations.

MSZMP Denies Soviet Donation of Real Estate

LD2809095690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] It is alleged that on the basis of a secret agreement that the Soviet Army, which is withdrawing from Hungary, plans to donate some of its real estate in Godollo and Balaton to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], led by Gyula Thurmer.

This is reported by KURIER, alluding to unofficial information. Sandor Nyiro, the party's deputy chairman, has described the report as totally absurd.

Rabar, Eagleburger Discuss Economic Situation

LD2709123290 Budapest MTI in English 1049 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Washington, September 27 (MTI)—Ferenc Rabar, Hungarian minister of finance, who is attending the General Assembly of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in Washington, met on Wednesday Lawrence Eagleburger, deputy secretary of state of the United States, and senior economic advisers of the U.S. Administration.

"I had the aim of providing them with an authentic picture of Hungary's economic situation and plans before the Hungarian prime minister's forthcoming visit to the United States," Rabar told an MTI correspondent. "The U.S. side displayed not only keen interest but even detailed knowledge about our economy and problems, and agreed with our plans," Rabar said.

Asked about the Hungarian economy's evaluation in the week's General Assembly, Rabar said: I experienced general sympathy and willingness to help, but materialising the latter runs into some obstacles. Hungary would like to sign a three-year agreement with the Monetary Fund for stand-by credit to finance its stabilization programme. Should this agreement be concluded, we can survey what additional government and commercial credits are available for stabilization and the halting of inflation.

Ferenc Rabar and Gyorgy Suranyi, president of the National Bank of Hungary, told a news conference in Washington on Wednesday that Hungary's balance of payments showed a surplus of USD [U.S. dollars] 300 million in the first eight months of the year, and that the balance would be maintained until the end of the year, despite the drought and the Gulf crisis.

Estimates put the losses as a result of the Gulf crisis to the end of the year at between USD 200-250 million, while in 1991, (assuming an average oil price of USD 24-25 per barrel), it will mean [for] Hungary a further loss or extra expenditure of USD 500 million.

Rabar stressed that, even in the current world economic situation, it is still possible for the Hungarian economic stabilization programme to be launched in the first half

of 1991, which would also mean establishing a certain extent of forint convertibility.

Suranyi emphasized that Hungary would maintain its ability to meet its debt servicing obligations in the next few years, and said he felt confident that Hungary would invariably get access to the required funds with the support of the international financial institutions and commercial banks.

Finance Minister Views IMF, World Bank Talks

LD2809102190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Report on interview with Finance Minister Ferenc Rabar by correspondent Gyorgy Bolgar in New York; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Bolgar] According to the Hungarian finance minister, who is taking part at the annual general assembly of the IMF and the World Bank, Hungary, like other countries which are in a difficult situation because of the anti-Iraq embargo, will also get some kind of international support due to the oil price rise. [passage omitted] Ferenc Rabar is of the view that we will be numbered among those who receive support.

[Begin recording] [Rabar] We will definitely get in there, insofar as this is the consequence of the oil crisis. On the other hand, the special Eastern European problems are a separate issue, and from this point of view everybody is handling our case with the greatest amount of sympathy and readiness to help, but I think that we can count on financial help only to the extent that it can be shown to be connected with the oil crisis.

[Bolgar] Are the leaders of the IMF and the World Bank satisfied with the pace of the Hungarian transformation and its results?

[Rabar] They are satisfied, although of late, the acceleration of the Czechoslovak and Polish transformation, or the Yugoslav transformation, has in a certain sense squeezed Hungary's advantage into the background. At least they have caught up. Furthermore, the IMF and the World Bank leaders will at all events support a very rapid changeover policy, the acceleration of entry into the market. [end recording]

Government Agrees to GDR CEMA Withdrawal

LD2709111990 Budapest MTI in English 1026 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 26 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government has given its consent to the withdrawal of the German Democratic Republic from the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The relevant statement was handed over to the GDR's charge d'affaires to Budapest in the Foreign Ministry on Tuesday.

In letters addressed to Jozsef Antall and the heads of governments of the other Comecon member states, GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere suggested that the member states should hold bilateral consultations and agree on terminating the GDR's membership at the Comecon. The GDR Government will duly inform the Soviet Government, as the recipient and guardian of the Comecon charter signed on December 14, 1959, and settle the issues related to the termination of membership.

Defense Cooperation Agreement Reached With Spain

LD2709113190 Budapest MTI in English 1040 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 26 (MTI)—The Hungarian and Spanish ministers of defence have agreed to establish ties and develop cooperation between the armed forces of the two countries, and continue their dialogue with the aim of building confidence.

Narcis Serra Serra, Spanish minister of defence, invited his Hungarian counterpart Lajos Fur for a visit to Spain. Fur accepted the invitation with thanks, the Spanish minister told the press on Wednesday.

The two ministers agreed on setting up an expert team to study the role of armies in the process of democratic transformation. They also agreed on opening military attache offices in Budapest and Madrid.

Young Democrats' Rally Criticizes Government

LD2709201190 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] At a Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] mass rally in Budapest, Viktor Orban asked his audience to go and vote on Sunday [30 September]. While it is true that this is the fifth time in a year that citizens have been asked to go to the polls, the previous four will lose their significance if the electors are passive now. Orban said that the future self-governments will not have an easy job, because they still do not know where the money will come from with which to manage affairs. He cautioned local leaders, however, against trying to get funds by imposing further taxes.

In his speech, which was interrupted by frequent applause, Viktor Orban criticized the government's inconsistent policy, which at times only serves to stir up passions. He mentioned as an example that even now there is only general talk about the issue of calling to account, while the Antall government is still paying out special category pensions to the premiers of the former regime.

He also outlined the party's stance in connection with the university strikes. According to the FIDESZ, these were demonstrations to protect their interests; however, the irresponsible remarks of certain government functionaries turned them into a political affair.

Free Democrats Assail Democratic Forum Moves

LD2709175690 Budapest MTI in English 1714 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI)—The programme of national regeneration came as a surprise to the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ], as they expected the government to let it go before parliament. A scheme which does not do so has to be considered a private document which the AFD refuses to deal with, the Free Democrats told their latest news conference before the elections in Budapest on Thursday.

Assessing the methods used during the election campaign, executive Ivan Peto cited more than one example to contradict the Hungarian Democratic Forum's (HDF) [MDF] allegation that their campaign practice is positive insofar as it is not aimed at discrediting the opposition. For instance, he said, HDF's election newspaper, running to one million published copies, indulged in some mud-throwing at [words indistinct] Ottilia Solt and Miklos Haraszti. [Word indistinct] Tamas Bauer, member of the AFD council, pointed out that although the government's programme of national regeneration contains a few noteworthy ideas, it is generally so half-baked and vague that it could hardly even be used as a document to provoke debate.

MSZMP Leader Comments on Election Platform

LD2709201590 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Gyula Thurmer, chairman of the Workers' Party [MSZMP], ended his election tour of the provinces at a mass rally which began this afternoon at Salgotarjan. First, he urged his audience to take part in the elections because, as he said, we will be deciding about our own fate, because we can only tilt the balance against the power of the Smallholders and the other bourgeois parties if we help the advance of the left with our votes. Otherwise, the left will lose its right to have a say in the country's life for a long time to come. He spoke out against the dismissals of several individuals, which have been given the name of reorganization; he spoke in favor of press freedom, against the chopping up of cooperative land, in favor of a market economy guaranteeing a majority of state ownership, and in favor of a well-functioning state police, the fulfillment of the students' just demands, and actions for the good of the miners.

He stressed that the MSZMP is a new party; it does not shut itself in an ivory tower, but goes into the mines, and among those living off wages and salaries. The MSZMP does not want to see the return of landlords, land-owners and Manfred Weiss types [one-time big industrialist], and it does not want the former one-sided foreign policy to be replaced by another one-sided one—as he put it, we do not want to be a modern German colony.

President Goncz Interviewed on Status of Army

AU2809092890 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Sep 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by Janos Czingraber; in Szekesfehervar on 22 September: "Soldiers Are Also Free Citizens"—first two paragraphs are NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] The supreme commander of the Hungarian Army, Arpad Goncz, was present in Szekesfehervar on 22 September, when the approximately 1,000 young, recently drafted soldiers stationed in the town took their oath. In his brief ceremonial speech, Goncz spoke about the rethinking of our security policy, the creation of a sovereign Hungarian statehood independent of political blocs, and the importance of restructuring the Hungarian Army into a defense force.

We interviewed Goncz after the taking of the oaths. This time, we spoke about his links with the Army, and his concepts regarding the defense force.

[Czingraber] Could the Army regain its former prestige?

[Goncz] Our Army is kept together through the responsibility it feels for our country. Nowadays, it is really a sacrifice to be an officer because the salary is low, accommodation is poor, one is constantly having to move, and the tasks are hard. If, however, young men can successfully be taught to love their country, then the whole Army could regain its old prestige, slowly but surely. We will do everything possible to create the right conditions, in accordance with the stamina of the country.

[Czingraber] The Army and political life used to be interwoven. Nowadays, however, the Army is slowly becoming the only area in society where party battles are not waged. How has this been achieved?

[Goncz] The regulations helped, but apart from that, there is also the fact that the Army is trying to strengthen its popular aspect. The officers who have stayed on are fitted for this transformation. Soldiers are free citizens who have rights, and who know that they have rights; in the future, they will have even more to defend because their homeland will no longer be their stepmother, but their real mother.

[Czingraber] The modified phrasing of the soldier's oath now advocates respect for international military law regulations, and it also stresses that superiors have to look after their subordinates. Could this lead us to believe that the Army is becoming more humane?

[Goncz] That is the fundamental aim. I think that the phrasing of the oath is very dignified, very human, and very Hungarian. The Army is kept together through tradition, but also through the responsibility felt for our country, and not through some enemy image. In these times of great uncertainty, the Army is a considerable tool. Furthermore, I do consider it a great problem that

the supreme commander is 100-percent civilian, a man who was wounded only as a resistance member during the war. Indeed, now I can represent a civilian approach which I hope is respectable, and I can prevent any interest groups from gaining ground in the restructuring of the Hungarian Army.

Justice Minister on Penal Code Modifications

AU2809093890 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 24 Sep 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Justice Minister Istvan Balsai by Attila Schmidt; place and date not given: "The Death Penalty Should Be Abolished"—first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Excerpts] Legislation, of course, cannot be left out while our political life and life in our society change. Only the perpetrators of criminal offenses can be punished, but are the things which were considered to be offenses yesterday still crimes today? What are the real motivations behind a reform of the Penal Code, and what is the content of the new proposals? These were some of the questions we asked Istvan Balsai.

[Balsai] The proposed changes refer, first of all, to financial crimes. Following previous constitutional changes, the differences between various forms of ownership have ceased. That has made the maintenance of certain forms of financial crimes superfluous. The protection of authors' royalties is a new element, because until now, infringements of lawful rights in this area were only dealt with as offenses. Above a certain value limit, a transaction becomes a crime, and the new bill adjusts that limit to the rising inflation. [passage omitted]

[Schmidt] Will the hard currency regulations also change?

[Balsai] According to the current legislation, everything which is forbidden by the Currency Code is considered to be a currency crime in the Penal Code. The Penal Code prescribes this as a framework law. There is absolutely no point in maintaining that law. Our current economic efforts also make this superfluous, because a whole stack of financial laws would indicate that there are 10 million criminals living in Hungary; we all know that there is hardly an adult in the country who has not bought hard currencies on the black market.

[Schmidt] What is still regarded as a criminal offense?

[Balsai] It is criminal to sign a contract where the value in forints, or the value in the relevant hard currency, is not calculated according to the official exchange rate. In short, this means that any straying from the exchange rates is illegal. It is also criminal to take hard currencies, forints, or valuable goods out of the country without permission, or to send them out in some way. To make the exportation of currencies and other valuable goods dependent on authorization is also in accordance with international practice. Our aim is to make Hungarian citizens place their hard currencies in Hungarian banking institutions, rather than in foreign ones, if possible. Furthermore, in connection with this issue, it is also a criminal offense not to report one's hard currency credit balance. This law is important from a financial point of view. [passage omitted]

[Schmidt] Mr. Balsai, does the modification of the Penal Code also deal with the possible abolition of the death penalty?

[Balsai] We did not mention the death penalty in the bill because this issue was presented to the Constitutional Court a long time ago.

[Schmidt] What is your opinion on the death penalty?

[Balsai] Personally, I do not see why it should be maintained. I also base my judgment on the fact that, during the last 20 years, the number of death sentences has been reduced to a quarter of the original figures. On the other hand, there were some people who "only" received life imprisonment sentences, and who committed murder again, once they had been released. Is it worth taking risks?

[Schmidt] Organized crime has reared its head in Hungary, and we have already come across mafias. Does that not justify a maintenance of the most severe form of punishment?

[Balsai] The death penalty can only be applied by law in the case of manslaughter. Even if the number of robberies and other terrorist-style crimes are on the increase, the perpetrators cannot be sentenced to death. The maintenance of the death penalty, therefore, cannot be linked to an increase in crime. Incidentally, Hungary is the last European country to have a death penalty.

Prime Minister Antall Receives Church Leaders

LD2709112590 Budapest MTI in English 1016 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 26 (MTI)—Prime Minister Jozsef Antall met representatives of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in Hungary on Wednesday, including Elemer Kocsis, bishop of the Reformed Church, Bela Harmati, presiding bishop of the Lutheran Church, and Frigyes Hecker, superintendent of the Methodist Church.

The sides discussed the settlement of the churches' property rights, internal regeneration, and attitudes towards the Hungarian minorities.

Majewski Condemns Iraqi Actions, States Position

LD2809105190 Warsaw PAP in English 0919 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 28—The Iraqi aggression on Kuwait aroused unequivocal condemnation of international community. Poland condemned the annexation and aggression and came out for the immediate and unconditional pull-out of Iraqi troops from Kuwait, Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Majewski said.

The government's decision to send a field hospital and a sanitary ship to the Persian Gulf, agreed upon with the Polish president, stems from Poland's stand on this question and expresses solidarity with efforts by international community. It stems also from international obligations that Poland undertook ratifying the UN Charter.

The Foreign Ministry's representative stressed that the decision was made without any external pressure.

Never did Poland consider to send combat units to the region of the conflict, he added. The government's decision to this effect is balanced and we have a conviction that this will be noticed by Iraq, the vice minister stressed. At the same time, he told the Sejm that 591 Polish citizens had returned from Kuwait and 1,326 Poles from Iraq by September 25. The cost of sending the hospital and the sanitary ship was put at a total of 12 billion zloties and 99,000 dollars.

Council of Ministers Views Gulf Situation, Tax

AU2709132190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Sep 90 p 1

[Piotr Aleksandrewicz report: "Polish Presence in the Persian Gulf"]

[Text] "The government must consistently implement all the provisions of the program," said Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, opening the Council of Ministers session on 24 October. The prime minister referred to the latest political events and the results of the Sejm session. The point was to be consistent in implementing democratic institutions, the law, and economic change. "I would like the ministers to display maximum energy and decisiveness in their work," said the prime minister.

Next, the meeting discussed Polish involvement in the Persian Gulf. Deputy Foreign Minister Jan Majewski provided explanations, and the prime minister spoke several times. The Council of Ministers unanimously decided to send a field hospital and hospital ship to the Middle East. In accordance with the Hague Convention, both the field hospital and hospital ship would provide assistance to all wounded, whatever their nationality, in the event of war. "In reaching this decision, the Polish Government took into consideration the UN Security Council resolutions on an armed conflict in this region and international efforts to restore peace to this region, observe international law, and in particular, end the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait," says a communique issued by the Government Press Office.

After this, the government discussed funds for culture, but abandoned the intention of discussing a bill on cultural activity because not every ministry had submitted its opinions yet. In 1991, culture will be financed directly out of the state budget, and these funds will be no less than the money that used to be located in the now-dissolved Cultural Development Fund. Minister Izabella Cywinska called for a positive response to two additional issues, the first of which was income tax concessions for any individual or enterprise that contributes to the Cultural Foundation.

Following a discussion, in which Minister Cywinska's proposal found an unexpected ally, the Ministry of Finance, it was decided to implement this proposal on an experimental basis, for one year, to see whether contributors would be encouraged to provide greater sums of money. Minister Cywinska's second proposal, concerning tax concessions for publishers with low print runs, failed to attract the Finance Ministry's support.

Next, the government discussed the question of ownership transformations in the cooperative sector and the implementation of the law of 20 January 1990. Almost every minister said that this is a kind of setback for the government, for the process of abolishing national and voivodship cooperatives is proceeding at a sluggish rate and is breeding negative results, the most dangerous of which seems to be a tendency for these cooperatives to turn into a unique Polish phenomenon: cooperatives of legal persons.

Speaking about the cooperative movement in rural areas, someone aptly said that the "nomenklatura was prepared, but the farmers were not." There seems to be great confusion concerning this issue, for some people have been suggesting that cooperatives be turned into companies with limited liability, while others have been demanding permission to set up mixed operatives, consisting of cooperative employees plus farmers. There is no doubt that the law of 20 January was not perfect.

Of the further topics discussed by the council, two seem important. Justice Minister Aleksander Bentkowski read a report on the delay in the exhumation of the Polish officers from the Starobelsk camp, mainly caused by the fact that the relevant documents have been conveyed to the military prosecutor's office in Moscow.

The question of customs duty on cars caused a lively debate, started by Deputy Prime Minister Janowski. Minister Swiecicki said that this duty is currently 14 percent, and that value added tax, 32 percent, is the same for imported cars as for Polish ones. He warned that abolishing the customs duty might have serious consequences for the Polish Car Factory [FSO], including bankruptcy. It would affect the balance of payments

because of increased imports, the budget because of lost income previously earned by tax and customs duty, unemployment, etc.

Anna Fornalczyk, chairman of the Anti-Monopolies Office, and Tadeusz Syryjczyk, minister of industry, spoke convincingly of the need to create conditions for foreign competition in the automotive industry and encourage structural changes which are very slow. They also mentioned many other reasons why import duties on cars should be abolished. Several ministers criticized the fuel-thirsty products of FSO, but Deputy Finance Minister Posiadlo recalled the budgetary commitment via-a-vis those who have made a down-payment for a Polonez car, and also mentioned the possibility of a tax rebate if anyone decided not to purchase his Polonez after all. In the end, it was decided that the minister of foreign economic cooperation and finance minister would prepare a report examining the effects of abolishing or restricting import duties on cars.

Sejm To Discuss Involvement in Gulf Crisis

LD2709124390 Warsaw PAP in English 1058 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 27—Before a substantial debate could start in the Sejm today, it had been necessary to order a break so as to hold an unplanned session of the convention of seniors, the reason for this being a proposal put forward by Deputy Marian Zenkiewicz (the Democratic Left floor group) that the foreign minister or the national defence minister should present to the Sejm the government stand on sending troops to the Gulf region.

Chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP] Bronislaw Geremek came out against this motion, informing deputies that the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee had already turned to the government to present a detailed report on this issue and would discuss it at its session shortly.

After the resumption of the debates Sejm speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz said that the convention of seniors upheld its stance on the presented draft agenda of the Sejm meeting. In this connection it turned out to be necessary to vote on formal motions proposed by deputies. The chamber came out in favor of supplementing the agenda with a point consisting in a government report on Polish involvement in the Iraqi conflict.

Three earlier proposed points regarding amendments to the law on the development of the system of education and upbringing and the law on the bar and counsellors at law were crossed out.

Skubiszewski Previews Mazowiecki's U.S. Visit

LD2809011790 Warsaw PAP in English 2155 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] New York, Sept. 27—Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki will arrive in New York on Friday. The official reason for the visit is the 10th anniversary of the UN Children's Rights Convention to take place on Saturday and Sunday with 70 heads of state and government expected to attend.

PAP correspondent Adolf Reut asked Poland's Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski whether the Polish prime minister would meet with U.S. President George Bush.

"I hope this meeting will take place. Everything is on the right tracks even though the American President is very busy, and the visit of our prime minister is constrained to a certain time framework. The United States is tremendously interested in Polish affairs, as it attaches strategic significance to Poland and its political and economic stabilization. This is because this has great importance in the American perspective towards the things which are taking place in the USSR.

"In this respect, we touch upon very significant issues of political strategy. Within the framework of this strategy, the reduction of our debt is a very important tool of the success of economic reform. Prime Minister Mazowiecki will discuss this with everyone he meets."

Mazowiecki Visits Barcelona, Meets Industrialists

LD2809012790 Warsaw PAP in English 2203 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Barcelona, Sept. 27—Leading Catalonian industrialists and bankers today met with Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki, and other members of the Polish Government delegation now visiting Barcelona—the capital of the autonomous region of Catalonia, and the most economically developed region of Spain. The visit to Barcelona was the second working stage of the three-day visit of the Polish prime minister to Spain.

The president of Gdansk and the mayor of Barcelona today signed a document on cooperation which will make Gdansk the first Polish city to become a member of the Eurocities Union.

In the late afternoon Mazowiecki called upon the president of the government of Catalonia Jordi Pujol with a courtesy visit.

The economic talks in Barcelona were an important and concrete complement of economic contacts established in Madrid and brought the announcement of new preferential credits for Poland.

On Friday the Polish prime minister will leave for New York where he will attend ceremonies to mark the 10th anniversary of the UN Children's Rights Convention while his entourage will return to Warsaw.

On Wednesday, during a meeting between Mazowiecki and the Spanish royal couple, Queen Sophia confirmed

she would be in Poland on October 2-3 for the Chopin piano contest. She is also to open a Spanish painting exhibition in Lodz.

Sejm Amends Presidential Election Guidelines

LD2809010790 Warsaw PAP in English 2143 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 27—The Sejm today amended the Constitution and passed a law on the election on November 25 with the swearing-in to take place before Christmas. The dates depend on the stance of the Senate and the president.

The deputies introduced an entry into the Constitution that the president is elected by the nation in common, equal, direct and secret elections. Every Pole aged 35 and over and who has full electoral rights can run for president. The term of the present president will be cut short and expire the moment the new president elected by popular vote takes office.

Speaking about these changes, Maciej Bednarkiewicz of the Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group stressed that they were historical and meant that a certain threshold was passed on the road to the credibility of the highest office in the state.

A deputy from the Democratic Party proposed that the president's term last five years and that he be in office at most two terms. The difference of one year between the four-year term of parliament and five-year term of president would be enough to maintian the state's stability in the period of a change of legislative power. The Sejm voted in favor of this motion.

The minority in the Sejm thought it purposeful to introduce an electoral turnout limit of at least 50 percent of those eligible to vote. The house rejected this motion.

The house voted in favour of granting voting rights to state-less persons as an expression of the openness and democracy of Poland.

There was controversy over the minority's motion to ban the financing of the electoral campaign from foreign sources. The advocates of this entry argued that the president should be elected sovereignly. The Sejm decided to ban the financing of the electoral campaign from foreign sources.

The deputies also backed a ban on campaigning for candidates on the day of the voting and 36 hours before it. Moreover, they decided to withdraw the entry in the draft law banning campaigning in places of religious cult.

The Sejm voted on the whole law on the election of president with 12 votes against and 55 abstentions. It amended the Constitution with four votes against and 10 abstentions.

Walesa Cited on Presidential Campaign, Lithuania

LD2709224190 Warsaw PAP in English 2048 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 27—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa held a press conference at the Komuna Paryska shipyard in Gdynia, northern Poland, today.

Walesa was mainly asked about his presidential plans and program, starting from the costs of the electoral campaign to policy towards Lithuania. Walesa replied in part:

"A separate presidential campaign need not take place. I have been waging this struggle for 10 years and society knows me. I therefore do not foresee any campaign but I intend to continue these meetings as Solidarity chairman. And if we separate this, there will be many willing to finance the campaign. I do not intend to take a single penny from social funds. If the parliamentary elections are to be held in the spring, the president should be elected earlier.

"I have a proposal of a program and way of acting as president. I should not speak about them yet because formal-legal conditions are lacking. I do not want to speak too early and break the law. Until free elections are held in Poland, I feel responsible for initiating reforms and solving Polish affairs.

"I am not a sure candidate for president because I have divided Solidarity. I did this to prevent monopoly and postponement of democracy. Only democracy and the rules of the market will remove all that hampers, all that is bad in the economy, politics and the trade union."

I will not speak about policy towards Lithuania. It is too early. But I, as the first one, said a long time ago, that the Soviet Union should dissolve and form anew on principles of freedom and in a voluntary way. And things are headed in exactly that direction.

Walesa spoke out in favour of broad cooperation between the Polish economy and foreign capital provided prudence is maintained so as not to sell out the national assets and turn Poles into cheap labour.

Asked about the moving of graves of Soviet soldiers, for example in Krakow, Walesa said: "Poles...always paid homage to fallen soldiers irrespective of the color of their uniforms. Let us therefore honour also this uniform irrespective of our mutual relations in the past. Let us allow the fallen soldiers to remain where death surprised them."

Walesa Interviewed on Candidacy, Upcoming Plans

AU2809081090 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 25 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with "Solidarity" leader Lech Walesa, by Marzena Mroz; place and date not given: "I Know What I Will Do"]

[Text] [Mroz] Why do you want to become president?

[Walesa] I want to implement the program that we laid down in 1980. We decided to overthrow the communist system and establish another. And I must do this by the time free elections have been held. Only the elections will release me from this duty, or they will impose new duties. In fact, until the free elections have been held, I have no choice.

[Mroz] Do you want to be president at all costs?

[Walesa] No. I am not fighting for the presidency. I am merely fulfilling the duty that has been bestowed on me. I began these reforms, and I must lead them to a conclusion. I have been guiding this struggle, so I cannot abandon it half way through. There is no question of any deals like the "roundtable," because these are nothing but agreements, and not freedom.

[Mroz] Is there a conflict between you and Prime Minister Mazowiecki?

[Walesa] No, there is no discord between us. But there is a continuation of the reforms, and Mazowiecki does not mean the end of the reforms. The world is wrong to say that we have freedom because we have a new prime minister. This prime minister is only 35 percent freedom, not 100 percent. All this despite the fact that it is me who set him up—the fact that he is my prime minister. Many people tell me that I should abandon the contest because we already have freedom. But I say that we do not have freedom yet, and I am forging ahead. The question is who is right in this situation, me or those who think 35- percent democracy is sufficient? It is an indisputable fact that this prime minister is only 35 percent prime minister, the remainder is politics. To this prime minister one must add a president who used to be a communist. And that proves that I must fight on.

[Mroz] What is the aspiring president's program?

[Walesa] First one has to achieve normality, free elections. No programs will be announced until these free elections have been decreed and legally permitted. I have a foreign and domestic political program, but it would be political idiocy to announce it today. If I described my program in an interview, my competitors might usurp it and consider it their own, and my program would be passed on before the formal-legal conditions before the elections have arisen. More than that, someone might say that we all have the same program, so there is no need to change it! That is why I cannot announce my program now. The candidates will probably all be from my group, in other words, people with a similar orientation to mine. If they take my program, and happen to be more handsome than me, they might win. Then I would have no chance at all, except perhaps with women.

[Mroz] What price will the Poles pay for the changes to come?

[Walesa] When a government loses its majority, a new election is held. That happens everywhere. And what is the price of freedom? I do not think it can be measured. Sometimes it is better to live in a golden cage, but without freedom. Some people like that.

[Mroz] You are considered authoritarian and uncompromising.

[Walesa] There is a little bit of truth in that. I respect work, and keep my word. I do not even let my friends get away with swindling. In a nutshell, if I were a conductor, I would not even let my wife get on the bus without a ticket. Yes, it is possible for me to be disliked.

[Mroz] Does Poland need a strong leader?

[Walesa] I suppose it does. We are now implementing very difficult reforms—ones that induce conflicts. It takes strength to push them through. Many unpopular matters have to be dealt with, and anyone without resolve stands no chance. I too dislike many things. That is basically why I would not like to become president. That is very difficult in Poland. There is no pleasure to be derived from that office—only ingratitude, because conditions are harsh. One can be president in a country where everything is running smoothly, where everything is in order. I am surprised that others want to be president. I thought only I was so naive.

[Mroz] What role does the church play in Polish politics today?

[Walesa] Ninety-five percent of the Poles are Catholic. It is not the fault of the priests that this 95 percent contains politicians. Therefore it is not the church that is present in politics, but politicians who are present in the church.

[Mroz] What will you do if you obtain less than 55 percent of the votes in the election?

[Walesa] No, I do not acknowledge such an eventuality. I must have no less than 80 percent. Yesterday I visited a plant whose employees have always opposed me. I held a vote to see how many would support me. Not even one percent of them voted against me. That is how I am brushing my adversaries aside! And that is not because I want to be president, but because I do not want to. I have a lot to offer the world, and as a Nobel Prize winner I have duties toward the world. I am staying here for the time being, but if the Poles upset me, I will go somewhere else! If they fail to elect me, I will bow as low as I can.

[Mroz] Your grandmother foretold that you would be a great man.

[Walesa] If I had known that, I would have stayed with the angels.

[Mroz] What part do the Kaczynski brothers play in your policies?

[Walesa] One is my deputy in the union, the other is in TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. I like them very much. They have done a good job for Poland. But I do not identify myself with them. I do not fit any political law. I do not want to do so. I do not want to be a politician situated in any political party. I do not want to be a specialist, just a general practitioner.

[Mroz] If you become president, what will you suggest to Prime Minister Mazowiecki?

[Walesa] In a free country, one has freedom of choice. I have begun my candidacy for president. Now the problem is who wants to fight me, not who I want to fight. It is difficult to say what will happen if Mazowiecki enters the contest and I beat him, or vice versa. I know what I will do, although what we have today does not have to be the same tomorrow.

Lodz 'Solidarity' Supports Walesa Presidency

AU2709171390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 24 Sep 90 p 3

[Pawel Patora report: "Slowik Remains"]

[Text] A two-day general meeting of Lodz region "Solidarity" delegates ended on Saturday [22 September]. Friday's proposal to recall Andrzej Slowik from the post of chairman of the regional board was not put to a vote because no quorum could be formed on the second day of the session. It was decided to resubmit the proposal at the next general meeting, which will take place in six months time.

Delegates came out in favor of backing Lech Walesa's candidacy for the office of president of the Republic of Poland and for removing the "Solidarity" name and logo from all organizations and institutions in the region. In addition, they deemed it necessary for the "Solidarity" trade union to have its own representation in parliament.

In the opinion of delegates to the Lodz meeting, "Solidarity" members who do not belong to any political party or organization should have the right to run for the office of deputy or senator.

In addition, delegates voted in favor of an acceleration of the the privatization of enterprises as well as increasing preferential terms accorded employees in privatized enterprises.

Mazowiecki Meets Democratic Alliance 22 Sep

AU2809081590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Sep 90 p 2

[Tomasz Rogulski report: "ROAD Visits the Premier"]

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki will announce his decision to run for Polish president in the near future, after parliament has adopted suitable procedural rules, and following a review of the situation in Poland, said representatives of the Citizens Movement Democratic Action [ROAD] and Forum of the Democratic Right [FPD] after they had met the prime minister on 22 September. Parliament will adopt these rules in one week's time at the very earliest.

The meeting was attended by Jerzy Turowicz, Stanislaw Stomma, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Piotr Fgler, Kazimierz Ujazdowski, Jan Rokita, Tomasz Wolek, and Andrzej Wielowieyski.

At a news conference that followed the meeting with the prime minister, the above activists of both these groups, which together form the Alliance for Democracy, said that Mazowiecki is their candidate in the presidential election.

ROAD and the FPD expressed satisfaction with the fact that the election will take place before the end of the year, and said that the parliamentary election should take place no later than April 1991. The election rules should reconcile the principle of representation with the need to create a stable parliament.

"The urgent holding of the elections is a political necessity because the current president is upsetting the situation in Poland," said Jan Rokita. "The reason why the prime minister has not yet announced his candidacy is because he feared that a premature start to the election campaign might upset the economic and political life of the country. Tadeusz Mazowiecki is currently holding consultations with his supporters on this subject."

Lech Walesa has already launched his campaign, that is why public opinion polls show him to be gaining in popularity. Wladyslaw Frasyniuk said he thought that Walesa has taken advantage of the anniversary of "Solidarity's" emergence, and that television, considered to be government-controlled, has been very sympathetic to him.

Jan Rokita presented four reasons why Mazowiecki is the best candidate for president. "The current prime minister guarantees that the government will be strong and stable, but at the same time subject to the rule of law. It guarantees the pro-market orientation of the economy that is foreseen in the Balcerowicz Plan, and that the authorities will not succumb to claims made against them. Poland will not deviate from the road to Europe and will not seek any 'third path.' Tadeusz Mazowiecki guarantees that this will be implemented gradually and responsibly, without any political insanity."

I asked Rokita whether Walesa would become a destabilizing factor if he lost the election. "All I can say is that if Mazowiecki loses, which is highly unlikely, he will not be a destabilizing factor," Rokita replied.

Although ROAD and the FPD are nominating the same presidential candidate, they have not agreed on the extent of the powers the president should have. The FPD favors a presidential-parliamentary system with a strong president, from whom foreign and defense policy would emanate. ROAD is in favor of a balance between the legislature and the executive, with a government dependent upon parliament. "In any case, this will not be a symbolic presidency," said Rokita. The two groups are to announce their programs within the next few weeks.

Right now, ROAD has 49 deputies and senators, the FPD has less than twenty. Does the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP] possess any raison d'etre now that there is a split inside it? Jan Rokita and Andrzej Wielowieyski said yes. "The main factor preserving the OKP's unity is the need to adopt several dozen preparatory laws," said Rokita. "Nevertheless, as a political entity, the OKP does not exist."

TV Leader To Organize Picket in Front of Sejm

LD2709222290 Warsaw PAP in English 2121 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 27—Addressing a session of the council of the All-Poland Trade Union Alliance [OPZZ] today, OPZZ leader Alfred Miodowicz demanded the council's authorization to organize "a picket in front of the Sejm (lower house) in the defence of working people and trade union rights." The council agreed.

Miodowicz also protested against the draft law regulating the issue of the assets of trade unions and social organizations taken over by the OPZZ during martial law. Miodowic rejects the accusation that his trade unions seized the property of others and holds that the OPZZ became the owner of these assets (Solidarity inclusive - ed.) in a legal way and significantly multiplied them since then.

Citizens Polled on Political, Economic Situation

LD2609182690 Warsaw PAP in English 1733 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 26—Asked by the CBOS [expansion unknown] polling centre on September 11-17 to assess the current political situation in Poland, 37.6 percent of the polled said it is neither good nor bad (30.5 percent last July), 15.4 percent considered it fairly good and 12.2 percent—good. Conversely, 12.7 percent thought the situation rather bad and 5.3 percent—bad.

As concerns the economic situation, 14.1 percent of the polled considered it good (9.4 percent last July), 26.7 percent—average (23.6 percent last July), and 53.5 percent—bad (61.8 percent in July).

According to 69 percent of the respondents their financial standing is bad, 21.7 percent described it as average, and only 6.1 percent—as good.

Protest Against Proposed Abortion Law Reported

LD2709194690 Warsaw PAP in English 1833 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 27—Several organizations, including the Democratic Union of Women, Committee for the Defence of Women, League of Polish Women and Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, staged a picket outside the Polish Parliament today to protest against a planned law outlawing abortion.

Protesters handed out a statement in which they stated that the planned law brings down motherhood to legal coercion. Introduction of such a law may cause the deterioration of the standard of living of families, may lead to a wave of illegal abortions, increasing the mortality and sick rates among women.

The picket will end on Friday, but protesters will return to stage a demonstration in front of parliament on Saturday.

In light of the fact that the so called anti-abortion law is to be discussed during a meeting of the Senate, the central executive committee of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) issued a statement in which it stated that the draft law deprives women of the right to choose and to decide about giving birth to a child, that it grants courts the power to interfere with intimate affairs of women, with the life of many families.

In light of this, the SDRP expressed its strong protest against the treatment by some members of the Senate of the law and the legislative system as an element in preparations for an electoral campaign and turned to the society to support the demand to withdraw the draft law.

Editor Explains Purpose of New Army Daily

AU2709190990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Sep 90 p 2

["A.M." report: "POLSKA ZBROJNA—The Polish Army Daily"]

[Text] A new daily, POLSKA ZBROJNA [ARMED POLAND], the Polish Army's newspaper, will appear beginning in the middle of October.

The editor in chief of POLSKA ZBROJNA will be Jerzy Slaski. RZECZPOSPOLITA asked him about the tasks to be fulfilled by POLSKA ZBROJNA and its program. "We want our paper to help reestablish the Army's prestige in society and make people harbor positive feelings toward the Army," he replied. "After all, the Army had enormous social prestige under the Second Republic. I will not be exaggerating if I say that the nation liked the Army, was proud of it, and saw it as a symbol of Polish sovereignty. But all that changed after the war. The Army became the armed phalanx of a system that was imposed on Poland, and a communist-controlled ideological and physical instrument of the nation's bondage.

"Now Poland is changing, and so are its Armed Forces. Therefore society's attitude toward the Army should change as well, as this will help the Army transform itself into an Army worthy of the Poland we are building."

Jerzy Slaski was born in Warsaw. He was educated at the No. 1 Cadet Corps in Lwow. During World War II he fought in the domestic Army. After the war he became a writer and journalist. From 1980 until 13 December 1981 he was editor in chief of SLOWO POWSZECHNE. He is the author of the books "Fighting Poland" and "Skrobov—The History of the NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs] Camp for Home Army Soldiers 1944-45."

Foreign Minister Favors Air Embargo Against Iraq

AU2709201490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1831 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/9/1990—Joining those who supported the proposal for stronger sanctions against Iraq, Adrian Nastase, Romania's foreign minister, told the Security Council that Romania, as one of the authors of the resolution to extend the embargo to Iraqi air traffic, too, carefully observed all the provisions of that resolution and had always believed, ever since the beginning of the conflict, that the application of such sanctions could play a decisive part in peacefully settling the Gulf crisis. He added that the Romanian Government was working on an adequate set of resolutions to ensure the recently adopted sanctions would be observed by all natural and juristic persons of Romania.

Mr. Teodor Melescanu, Romania's foreign affairs undersecretary of state, informed a news conference that Romania's UN representative was now attending the proceedings of Committee 661 created to carry out sanctions against Iraq, militating for tangible actions that would help a large number of countries, Romania included, as one most affected by the embargo against Iraq, to recover their losses.

State Secretary Neagu Visits Saudi Arabia

Meets Saudi Crown Prince

AU2709192090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1800 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/9/1990—On September 26, 1990, Mr.Romulus Neagu, foreign ministry secretary of state, member of the government, now touring several Gulf countries as the Romanian president's special envoy, was received in Jeddah by the crown prince of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 'Abdallah Bin-Abd'-al-'Aziz, whom he handed over President Ion Iliescu's message of friendship and collaboration for King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz.

The message conveys Romania's support and solidarity with Saudi Arabia in the crisis caused by Iraq's invading Kuwait.

Romania's decision is underlined to further support all efforts for a political settlement of the crisis that should re-establish Kuwait's independence and sovereignty, to promote its principled position in fully observing the Security Council resolutions on sanctions against Iraq.

The message as well as the talks that took place on its handing over stressed Romania's wish to establish diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia, in the firm belief that they would open real possibilities to expand the cooperation between the two countries at various levels. The problem of supporting Romania's efforts to mitigate the important losses of the Romanian economy as a result of the Gulf crisis and the application of the Security Council sanctions against Iraq were also discussed on the same occasion.

Prince 'Abdallah Bin-'Abd'-al-'Aziz congratulated the Romanian people on its courage and on its achievements after the December 1989 revolution as well as on Romania's principled and firm stand on the Gulf crisis.

He conveyed King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz and his own thanks to Romanian President Ion Iliescu and to Premier Petre Roman for their friendly attitude under the present circumstances. He expressed his full support of Romania's efforts to overcome the difficulties caused by the Gulf crisis.

Meets With Kuwaiti Prime Minister

AU2709192490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1816 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/9/1990—As Mr. Teodor Melescanu, undersecretary of state at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, has informed, Mr. Romulus Neagu, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and member of Romania's Government, is paying a visit, as the personal envoy of Romania's President Ion Iliescu, to the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and Qatar over 21 September-2 October. He will hand over messages from the Romanian head of state to the respective heads of state as well as to the leaders of the State of Kuwait. The tour pursues the promotion of Romania's relations with the states in the region, in the political and diplomatic sphere included, being also an active contribution to the efforts for settling the critical situation in the Gulf and the problems raised to the Romanian economy by the crisis. During his call on the president of the United Arab Emirates [UAE], Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan al-Nuhayyan, the Romanian envoy set forth the Romanian Government's stand on the Gulf crisis and expressed the solidarity of his country and people with the efforts made to settle the situation in the area, in consensus with international law, with the unanimously recognized principles of interstate relations and the UN Security Council resolutions. The message also stresses Romania's willingness to strengthen and expand its ties with the UAE. The interview also occasioned a survey of the possibilities of initiating tangible actions of cooperation between the two states, oil deliveries to Romania, investment in Romania and the building of economic units in the UAE by Romanian companies included. During the interview, the UAE leader was appreciative of Romania's stand on the Gulf crisis and of its contribution to the efforts of the international community, to the adoption by the Security Council of the resolutions meant to settle the situation in the area and to their carrying into effect.

At present the Romanian envoy is in the Saudi Arabia where he was received by the crown prince and where he had an interview with the crown prince and prime minister of Kuwait, Shaykh Sa'ad al-Abdullah al-Salim al-Sabah.

Reaffirms Romania's Support

AU2709193390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1837 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/9/1990—Romulus Neagu, Foreign Ministry secretary of state and special envoy of the Romanian president, was received at Taif (Saudi Arabia) by the crown prince and prime minister of the Kuwaiti Government, Shaykh Sa'ad al-Abdullah al-Salim al-Sabah, whom he handed over a message of friendship and solidarity sent by President Ion Iliescu to the Kuwaiti head of state, Shaykh Jaber al-Ahmad al-Jaber al-Sabah, in reply to the latter's message of August 31.

The message conveys Romania's determination to further act in full accordance with the provisions of the Security Council resolutions on the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and application of economic sanctions against Iraq. It underlines the Romanian Government's wish to maintain diplomatic relations with the legal authorities of Kuwait, according to the principles and norms of international law.

Kuwait's premier highly appreciated Romania's principled and consistant position on the Gulf crisis and in firmly supporting the Kuwaiti people's right to independence and sovereignty.

Iliescu Attends 45th UN General Assembly Session

Statements Prior to Departure

AU2609114290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Liviu Duma on the eve of his New York visit in Bucharest on 26 September—recorded]

[Text] [Iliescu] I go to the United Nations headquarters for two quite important international events. The first is a summit meeting devoted to children, which will be held at the level of heads of state and heads of government. This is a major event and it is the first time that such a meeting has being organized at summit level under the UN aegis; a meeting devoted to the future generation, which will determine the fate of mankind. It is a generous gesture to hold a meeting with such a particularly important significance. The meeting will adopt a convention regarding children; we are very pleased and satisfied with this initiative and thus accepted the invitation to attend this meeting.

The second event is the UN General Assembly session—in a way, a jubilee—the 45th session of the world organization. This session takes place in a very different framework following the events of the past years—which, in a certain way, have changed the context of international relations both in Europe and throughout the world—and after avoiding a major conflict in the Gulf region, which is still a hot point on our planet. Thus, this is a session with multiple significance which, as a result of the recent events, stresses the positive role played and the role that can be played by the United Nations in order to ensure peace and international security.

We will attend these two events and we will present Romania's position and Romania's broad opening to the world, in light of the changes that take place in the political, economic, and social life of our country.

[Duma] Mr. President, while at the United Nations, that is in New York, no doubt that you will have contacts and meetings with officials, personalities, and heads of state and governments of the countries which participate in this session. I believe that you have a very rich agenda in this respect.

[Iliescu] Certainly, it is a happy occasion because both the UN summit meeting and the UN General Assembly session will be attended by a large number of state leaders. The agenda of the meeting is very busy, but there will be numerous opportunities to meet people, have contacts, and exchange ideas and opinions with heads of the countries present at the meeting.

Aside from that, we plan other types of contacts, such as with businessmen in the United States and at the U.S. Council for International Relations, which has already forwarded us an invitation. Our agenda also includes a press conference and a meeting with representatives of Romanian emigrants; therefore, we will have a busy program.

[Duma] As a matter of fact, in an interview that we had last night with Mr. Alan Green, Jr., whom you received yesterday, we mentioned that the United Nations in New York means not only the United Nations, but also the United States. Thus we asked him, from the point of view of Americans, how does he regard this visit, taking into consideration the special relations that we wish to have with the United States. Do you plan to have contacts at an official level with U.S. officials?

[Iliescu] In accordance with everybody's program I hope that we will have such an opportunity.

Leaves for New York, Makes Statement

AU2709162990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1530 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/9/1990—On Thursday [27 September] afternoon Romania's president left for New York to attend the proceedings of the 45th session of the UN General Assembly and the UNICEF summit.

At the airport President Ion Iliescu made the following statement:

We are leaving for New York to attend the UNICEF summit that will try improve the status of children world-wide, and to state at the 45th UN General Assembly's session Romania's hopefully realistic and constructive point of view of the wide range of current international questions. It is worth stressing the significance of

this moment because this is the first time since the revolution that our country is represented at the highest political level in world dialogue. Our participation at this level is equally an expression of the wish to multiply our contacts with the world and of the attention we pay to the debate of problems that are the concern of us all. We certainly are going to show to the international community the new face of Romania, a country that was revived and purified by the sacrifice of the December revolutionists, that irreversibly took the road to democracy, to build new political, economic and social structures. And we will also insist on our new opening to the world, on our participation in international cooperation and the resolution of pressing problems starting not only from abstract principles or norms of conduct, but also from human solidarity in the face of challenges which in our view should be a landmark for international life.

In context, our participation in the UNICEF summit which will be attended by many heads of state or government as far as I know, is the best evidence of new Romania's concern with children problems, with the many aspects of their rearing, education and care.

At the United Nations we will state our full support for the positive processes in international life the end of the cold war and the tendency to convergence and cooperation on many questions.

We will further plead for constructive, realistic solutions.

Certainly we will welcome the fact that these obvious changes seem to help a return of United Nations activities as a whole to the original aims and ideas of the charter signed in San Francisco—the maintenance of peace, the assertion of international cooperation.

Of course, we will take advantage of our presence in New York to make a number of contacts and talk with other heads of state or government.

I hope, the president of Romania said, they will contribute to the better knowledge of our internal developments, to the growth of Romania's relations with various countries in Europe and on other continents to set the basis for an increasingly closer a cooperation in future.

Iliescu Interview to Voice of America Reported

AU2809064690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1446 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/9/1990—It is an opportunity to mark Romania's presence after the December events—in the context of the changes taking place in the Romanian society and, especially, to spell out the message of new Romania—with the opening it has proclaimed and has steadily promoted in the world, stated Romania's President Ion Iliescu in an interview with the Voice of America Radio Station, referring to his participation in the 45th UN General Assembly session and in the UNICEF summit.

Saying he would have "the opportunity for direct contacts with many heads of state in New York—maybe also with the U.S. executive—and for agreeing also on the development of the bilateral relations", Romania's president expressed the confidence that "in the last analysis, the U.S. politicians and businessmen, reputed for their realism. Furthermore, U.S. public opinion will come to an objective understanding of the facts—namely, that the Romanian society goes through a process of deep changes" and that "the course taken for transition to a market economy is thorny and it inevitably entails also commotions".

"We most sincerely wish to see a new era open in the Romanian-U.S. relations" stressed the president in concluding the interview.

Prime Minister Roman Pays Visit to Belgium

Meets Government Member in Brussels

AU2709201590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1911 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/9/1990—Thursday morning Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman, on a few hours' visit to Brussels following the invitation extended by Jacques Delors, president of EEC Executive Commission, met Mrs. Anne-Marie Lizin, member of the Belgian Government, secretary of state for European questions.

Premier Roman, accompanied by Mr. Adrian Severin, his assistant for reform and relationship with the parliament, had a friendly exchange of views with Mrs. Lizin about some concrete aspects and prospects of cooperation between Romania and Belgium. A number of general issues have been approached with regard to the relations between Romania and the Common Market, following the EEC recent ratification of the agreement of economic and commercial cooperation with Romania.

The talks touched on several international developments, mainly about the Gulf crisis.

At the conclusion of the interview, Mrs. Anne-Marie Lizin stressed her interest in a cooperation of Belgium and EEC with Romania specifically in such fields as building, energy, ecology and education. She expressed a nuance optimism about the prospects of a cooperation with Romania, pointing out that it would depend on the progress of democratic changes in our country.

Statements on Brussels Visit

AU2709211190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Interview with Premier Petre Roman by Alexandru Stark on the plane from Brussels to Geneva on 27 September—recorded]

[Text] [Stark] Mr. Prime Minister, at the end of the first part of this race-against-the-clock visit and a meeting

after which, so far, no press statements have been made, now, on your way to the second part of your trip—which will be in Geneva—I would like to ask you to sum up the major conclusions you drew from the meetings.

[Roman] I believe that the meeting I held with Jacques Dolors, the acting president of the EEC Executive Committee, was extremely important. We discussed a few issues regarding Romania's relations with the EEC. Starting from the joint wish to clarify those political aspects which have not been sufficiently explained in the Western countries—thus within the European Community—we held talks about the current intentions of the Romanian Government in the economic area—primarily its fundamental intentions to rebuild the Romanian economy on the new basis of the market economy, but also to ensure a structural renewal of our economy in the coming period. Thus, we drew the practical conclusions to ensure concrete objectives and ways to improve ties between Romania and the EEC. Without giving too many details at this moment, my general impression is that we held very a useful, open discussion and even a friendly one.

[Stark] You also held talks with a high-level Belgian official. Would you please briefly characterize this meeting?

[Roman] As a matter of fact it was our first major contact with Belgian officials and, if we have to start from this idea, we can say that it is a good omen. We noticed and we were told that the Belgians are people who regard Romania with great sympathy. The Belgians are people who are willing to come to Romania either as tourists or as businessmen, industrialists, and so on and so forth. For the time being, we confessed our mutual intentions to open up the road for such contacts.

Foreign Ministry Official on Roman's European Tour

AU2709170190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1442 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/9/1990—"The Romanian Premier's European tour, to start Thursday, 27 September in Brussels, said under secretary of state Th. Melescanu of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, will commence with an interview with Jacques Delors, chairman of the EEC Commission, on the further cooperation between Romania and the Common Market. [no closing quotes as received]

The recent decision of the latter to sign a trade cooperation agreement with Romania opens new prospects for deep-going and diversified relationships with EEC countries. Romania considers that, parallel to signing the agreement, it is important that steps should be taken to include it among the beneficiaries of the assistance programme initiated by the "Group of the 24" to support the East-European countries in their transition to a market economy. On the same day, Premier Roman will give a press conference at the Geneva headquarters of the World Health Organization on child health in Romania and have talks with WHO director on cooperation and technical assistance for handicapped children in Romania.

Parliament Supports Council of Europe Meeting

AU2709181790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1634 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/9/1990—The Romanian Parliament—stated Teodor Melescanu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—backs the creation of a CSCE parliamentary structure which will increase the role of parliaments and considers that the new CSCE structure, namely the Assembly of Europe, should be separated from that of the Council of Europe or other present structures.

During the debates held these days on that item at the Strasbourg meeting the floor was taken on behalf of the Romanian Parliament by the president of the Senate, Alexandru Birladeanu, and by Deputy Ion Ratiu (Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party) while Liberal Parliamentarian Ionel Sandulescu is to make an address later, the Romanian official specified, showing that the Romanian parliamentary delegation has no major objections against the drafts made for that meeting.

The Romanian parliamentary delegation is to meet with Anders Bjorck, president of the Parliamentary Assembly, with members of the Commission for the European Countries not members of that organism, as well as with Mrs. Catherine Laloumiere, secretary-general of the Council of Europe. Those interviews will focus on Romania's request to participate in the Council of Europe as special guest.

On October 1, on the item "situation in Romania", a report will be read presenting the democratization process in Romania after December 22, 1989, stress being laid on the positive evolutions so far in comparison with the report elaborated last autumn.

After the Strasbourg meeting the Romanian parliamentary delegation will visit Paris to hold talks with high French officials, specified the Foreign Ministry spokesman during a press conference arranged in Bucharest on Thursday.

Cooperation Projects Discussed at Oil Meeting

AU2709114690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0933 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/9/1990—The Bucharest meeting, a tangible step in the process of transition to the market economy, had a marked character of international cooperation. Its purpose was the presentation of 15 areas believed to contain oil, stated to a ROMPRES reporter Nelu Ionescu, director-general of the "Rompetrol-Geomin" company. It is about 12 onshore areas (in the Oriental Carpathians, in Maramures, the Moesian platform, the Transylvanian and Birlad depressions, etc.) as well as three blocks on the

Black Sea continental shelf—areas covering between 650 square kilometers and 9,600 square kilometers. The list of geological and geophysical know-how for every area was offered for sale to the companies represented at the meeting.

Over 120 presidents, vice-presidents, directors, geologists, geophysicists, legal advisers participated on behalf of 55 of the most reputed and prestigious companies of numerous countries, including the United States, Britain, France, the Netherlands, Federal Germany, Canada, Austria, Italy and the Republic of Korea.

The Rompetrol-Geomin is commissioned to conclude contracts of cooperation with every partner who wants to. The contracts will cover the exploration and sharing of the production. The foreign partner shall finance and give the technology, but the technique may also belong to the host country, the standard of which is apt to establish whether the respective areas contain crude or gas. The exploration shall be the responsibility and risk of the foreign partner. If hydrocarbons are discovered, they shall be shared in a different manner for various areas, contingent upon their respective sizes, as well as upon the partner's contribution, either financial or technological, the director said.

He assessed the meeting as one of the most important events of the kind this year, be it only for the fact that numerous oil companies met here—in Bucharest—many of them very important, like Exxon, Amoco, Conoco and Chevron (the U.S), Shell (the Netherlands), British Petroleum (Britain) Total and Elf Aquiten (France), etc. We also think of the prospects opened for economic cooperation in such an important domain for Romania as oil industry. We expect that, pursuant to talks conducted with the foreign partners while in Romania or even after that, we should make final a string of projects of fertile cooperation for the tracing and capitalization of new hydrocarbon reserves both onshore and offshore, maybe even in zones where Romanian technology does not work, he concluded.

Ministers Address 27 Sep Senate Session

AU2709201790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1902 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/9/1990—The upper house of the Romanian Parliament resumed its proceedings in plenum on Thursday [27 September].

In keeping with the rules of the Senate, representatives of the executive power answered previously asked questions.

The answers given by the ten representatives of the government focused on issues regarding environmental protection in case of possible accidents at the nuclear plant in Bulgaria, on the financial and material efforts made by the Romanian state in this respect. Details were offered as regards the state of the application of laws endorsed by Parliament, more particularly Law 15 concerning the transformation of state economic units into autonomous companies and commercial units, the difficulties existing in this domain following the perpetuation of the old economic and administrative structures especially in appraising the enterprises' assets.

The Senate was informed that for this school year of the 375 titles of textbooks 140 are still to be printed to take the number of copies to over 25 million. It was assessed that the problem would be solved by the end of next month.

The health minister informed that of the 258 cases of cholera registered this year in Tulcea and Braila Counties one died in Sulina. The situation is under control but continues to be worrying in Sulina given the precarious conditions of drinking water supply. Still unsatisfactory is the population's supply with medicines although the state has spent substantial hard currency funds in this respect.

The representative of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food assured those present that the future law of the land would guarantee pensions to the farmers who worked in producer cooperative farms.

As for paper supplies a number of difficulties were mentioned facing at present the Wood Department in securing the necessary raw materials, the point being made that the situation next year seemed no better. As for the funds of the former party administrative department the spokesman of the Ministry of Finance specified that assets worth more than 40 billion lei had been inventoried so far.

During the meeting the minister of culture pointed to concerns of the cultural policy, the measures stipulated to turn to good account works representing personalities of the Romanian spiritual life, like the statutes of Barbu and Lascar Catargiu, Ion Bratianu, Constantin Ene, the restoration of the Arch of Triumph in Bucharest, and to the difficulties encountered by that ministry.

The Senate managed to debate only the bill on the amendment of the code of penal procedure included, together with another three items, in today's agenda.

The senators agreed to resume the debates on the aforementioned bill on Monday at one o'clock p.m.

Report on 27 Sep Deputies' Assembly Session

AU2709203890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2010 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/9/1990—In its September 27 session the Assembly of Deputies declared as vacant five seats of deputies following the resignation of the former deputies. It was decided that the credentials commission be informed to discuss the candidates for the vacant seats.

Debating the bill on administrative law office, the Assembly of Deputies decided to submit that important document to the legal commission of discipline and immunities for debate and approval.

The Parliamentary Ecological and Social Democratic Group initiated a bill on declaring the Danube Delta as natural reservation as well as on Romania's adherence to an international convention dealing with the setting up of such reservations. It was decided that the entire documentation be handed over to the country's president, the only one who—owing to his prerogatives—can initiate a bill on Romania's adherence to an international convention. It was also decided that a parliamentary delegation be sent to the Danube Delta over October 4-6 for consultations with the inhabitants of that region over the setting up of the reservation.

The commission for protecting and ensuring public order presented a protest in connection with certain facts of the September 22 incidents—espoused unanimously by the session's plenum—which reads: the members of the Assembly of Deputies express their indignation and worry over the incidents having taken place on September 22 at the triptych in the University Square when a parliamentary delegation headed by Mr. Dan Martian, speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, was laying a floral wreath in the memory of the revolution's heroes dead nine months ago. They firmly condemn such aggressive and uncontrolled manifestations proving lack of respect for those having died for the entire people's ideals of freedom, democracy and prosperity.

At the same time, they disapprove the passive attitude of the order-keeping bodies in those moments and request the decision makers to adopt and apply the necessary measures for such events never to occur again. These measures should be opportune and efficient so that in future the democratic institutions' representatives regardless their political options can never be abused and enjoy due respect.

The proceedings of the Assembly of Deputies will be resumed on Monday.

Investigation of 13-15 June Events Continues

AU2709201290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1912 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/9/1990—Hearings at the Parliamentary Commission investigating into the June 13-15 events continued on Thursday. The commission heard Major-General Gheorghe Andrita, secretary of state and head of the Supply and Services Department in the Ministry of the Interior, Colonel Liviu Trandafirescu, deputy head of the Penal Investigation Direction of the Police Department, Octav Radulescu, and Dan Predescu, former mayor general of Bucharest.

Seamen Strike Again, Protest Earlier Agreement

AU2709111690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1025 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/9/1990—The administrative personnel of the Navrom, Romline and Petromin shipping companies, the Trade Union of Marine Officers and the League of Commanding Officers of Constanta Port went on Japanese strike on September 26, warning about the unlawfulness of the protocol concluded earlier this week between Minister of Transport Doru Pana and the Council of Trade Unions of Constanta Port, pursuant to which the port workers and seamen had stopped a previous strike.

Strikers protest against improper wording of the abovementioned protocol.

Congress of Independent Radio, TV Stations Held

AU2709194890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1814 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/9/1990—The proceedings of the first national congress of independent radio and television stations opened in Bucharest on Thursday morning. Attending the congress as invited guests are amateur and professional journalists and radio and television announcers from Bucharest and the country, members of the Romanian Journalists' Association and of the Romanian Journalists' Society, representatives of ministries and departments, press attaches with various embassies. Members of the government will attend the congress in the days to follow.

"One of the key aims of our congress", Daniel Klinger, chairman of the "Uniclub" Association, one of the sponsors of the congress, said in his address, "is to legalize independent radio and television stations and to create an all-country body, some kind of cartel of these stations."

Taking the floor were also the representatives of the five independent radio and television stations and of the former local TV stations in Oradea and Tirgu Mures.

Bishop of Maramures, Archbishop of Tomis Elected

AU2709170390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1522 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/9/1990—The church Electoral College elected His Holiness Justin Maramureseanul, former vicar-bishop of the Archbishopric of Cluj, as bishop of the Bishopric of Maramures, which was recreated recently. His Holiness Lucian Tomitanul, former vicar-bishop of Tomis, was elected archbishop of Tomis.

Serbian Assembly Adopts, Promulgates Constitution

AU2809100390

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian from 0755 to 0829 GMT on 28 September, together with other Belgrade stations, the united radio stations of Serbia, and the Serbo-Croatian programs of Novi Sad Radio and Pristina Radio, broadcasts a live relay of the joint session of all chambers of the Serbian Assembly held at the Belgrade Sava Center.

At 0801 GMT Zoran Sokolovic, president of the Serbian Assembly, opens the "14th joint session of all chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia which had been convoked to adopt and promulgate the constitution of the Republic of Serbia." After a choir sings the Yugoslav anthem, Sokolovic greets the guests, who are Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia; Dragutin Zelenovic, member of the SFRY Presidency; Slobodan Gligorijevic, president of the SFRY Assembly; Verona Adam-Bokros, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina; and delegates of that assembly, as well as representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army, the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the university, organs and organizations of the federation, Serbia, and Belgrade, as well as representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church and other religious communities.

Having stated that there are 270 delegates present—that is, over two-thirds of the total number of delegates—Sokolovic proposes an agenda with two items: one, the adoption and promulgation of the Serbian constitution and two, the adoption and promulgation of the constitutional law on implementing the constitution of the Republic of Serbia.

Under the first item, Sokolovic puts to a vote the proposal on the constitution of the Republic of Serbia and it is adopted with six votes against and no abstentions. Sokolovic then puts to vote the proposal of the decision to promulgate the constitution of the Republic of Serbia which is adopted with no votes against and no abstentions. Sokolovic then says that "the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, which was adopted by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia at the joint session of all chambers on 28 September 1990, has been promulgated" which is greeted by applause.

The constitutional law, discussed under the second item on the agenda, is adopted and promulgated with no votes against.

At 0815 GMT Zoran Sokolovic begins his speech and says that "the Republic of Serbia is now a united and sovereign state over its entire territory," and adds that "the constitution is the crown and result of the fight for Serbia's statehood and for democracy that the Serbian people and all democratically oriented people in Serbia have waged for the last three years."

Sokolovic concludes his 12-minute speech at 0827 GMT by saying "Long live the Republic of Serbia, the democratic state of all citizens living in it" and is greeted by a prolonged applause. In his speech, Sokolovic makes no mention of future elections in Serbia.

At 0828 GMT, Sokolovic concludes the session. The reporter says that the assembly will continue its work by adopting three laws: on the elections of people's deputies, on the elections of the president of the republic, and on election units.

Assembly President Comments

LD2809092890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0843 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—The new Constitution of the Republic of Serbia has been formally endorsed and proclaimed in the Grand Hall of the Sava Center in Belgrade.

Immediately after the Yugoslav anthem was played, delegates of all three chambers of the Serbian Assembly, with only six votes against, have adopted the new Constitution of the Republic of Serbia in the presence of top representatives of the federation, Serbia, Vojvodina, Kosovo, Belgrade, religious communities, public personalities, artists, and Yugoslav Peoples Army representatives. On this occasion, the delegates have also endorsed the constitutional law.

Addressing the delegates and guests at the session, the president of the Serbian Assembly, Zoran Sokolovic, has stressed that the new Constitution is not breaking ties with other Yugoslav nations and nationalities living in Yugoslavia, but, on the contrary, is extending its hand to them and offering them a life together. The formal session of the Serbian Assembly has ended with the speech made by Zoran Sokolovic.

New Constitution Detailed

LD2709212190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1849 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—The largest Yugoslav republic—Serbia—has virtually a new constitution on Thursday [27 September] since the proposal of the constitution was on Wednesday accepted by the delegates of the Republican Assembly and on Thursday by the delegates of Province of Vojvodina Assembly, so that the constitution will be promulgated in Belgrade on Friday.

The delegates of Serbia's other province of Kosovo Assembly did not take part in adopting the new republican constitution. In early July, they adopted the "Constitutional Declaration" proclaiming Kosovo's independence, so that the provincial Assembly was dissolved and its competence was transferred to the republican Assembly. Kosovo is predominantly populated by ethnic Albanians.

The new constitution defines Serbia as a democratic republic, without the word "socialist" or any other ideological attributes. Equality of peoples and citizens' rights and freedoms are guaranteed, and multi-party and parliamentary democracy and market economy is introduced. Equality of all types of ownership, freedom of entrepreneurship, free circulation of goods, labor and capital on a unified market are also guaranteed.

The new constitution establishes unity of territory, which has for decades been threatened by a very strong movement of ethnic Albanian separatists in Kosovo. The provinces are now guaranteed territorial autonomy, but are deprived of attributes of statehood as defined in the 1974 Constitution, which as believed here, has placed Serbia into an inferior position as compared to that of the other republics.

Although over 65 percent of Serbia's population comprises the Serbian nation, the constitution defines it as a "state of all citizens living in it." The individual, and not the nation, is the bearer of sovereignty and he is guaranteed all political, economic and social rights. The official language in the republic remains without change—Serbo-Croatian.

As regards the organization of power, division of power has been made into three segments, executive, legislative and judiciary. Under the constitution, [words indistinct] of state will in the future be a president of the republic, and not republican Presidency. His power is restricted to classical duties of a head of state. President of the republic can at the proposal of the republican government dissolve the parliament, but the parliament may institute proceedings for his removal. The majority of eligible voters through direct voting (?may) decide on this matter.

The new constitution continues loyal to the federative state. However, a provision says that Serbia can "turn its back on" the federation if it finds that any one decision could have a harmful effect on the republic.

According to a statement of Serbia's constitutional commission member, Ratko Markovic, at the same time as the constitution is proclaimed of Friday, the date will be set for the first post-war multi-party elections in Serbia, scheduled for late December.

Vojvodina Supports Constitution

LD2709173690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1019 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—The Vojvodina Assembly approved today at a joint session of all three chambers the proposed constitution for the Serbian Republic.

The new republican constitution, the assembly stressed, ensures the development and functioning of the Serbian Republic as a single state with autonomous provinces of Vojvodina, Kosovo, and Metohija as forms of territorial autonomy. In the provinces, citizens have rights and duties in accordance with special national, historical, cultural, and other attributes.

Serbian Opinion Poll Indicates Socialist Lead

AU2809075090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Sep 90 p 5

[Slobodan Stanojevic report: "What Is the Opinion of Voters Before the First Multiparty Elections in Serbia? Only Three Parties 'In Play'"]

[Text] As the time approaches when the "flag goes up" for the first multiparty elections in Serbia, the interest is increasing in the public and there is much speculation and many predictions as to which party has the greatest chance of winning the first multiparty elections in Serbia. Therefore, many polls are being conducted. "Scientia," the first private agency for public opinion research and political marketing, also took on this job recently at the request of some parties.

The agency is headed by Dr. Miklos Biro, professor of psychology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad, who gathered seven other distinguished psychologists to pursue public opinion research through "Scientia." The agency has conducted a poll of over 600 potential voters in the Socialist Republic of Serbia (excluding Kosovo) asking them about the participation in the coming multiparty elections. Dr. Biro singles out the following as the most significant result of this poll:

"The results of our research show that at the moment, only three parties exist in Serbia that can seriously count on the votes. They are the Socialist Party of Serbia which would get 25 percent of the votes of the respondents, the Democratic Party which would get 15 percent of the voters, and the Serbian Renewal Movement whose popularity varies between 25 percent of the voters in the South of Serbia and only five percent in Vojvodina. However, the main feature of our research seems to me the finding that a tremendous number of voters (34 percent of them) have not yet made up their minds as to whom they will vote for in the elections. The percentage of undecided voters in Vojvodina is as high as 45 percent."

This undecidedness is explained by Dr. Biro not only with the fact present all over the world—the fact that a large number of voters decide "at the last moment" for whom they will cast their vote—but also with some special "peculiarities":

"It is not just a lack of democratic experience, but also a peculiar political illiteracy and defeatism. People are insufficiently informed and to some extent politically confused. This is exemplified by the fact that according to our research, only about 20 percent of the population has formed any view on the opposition parties. The confusion in the minds of some people is also indicated by the following: as many as one third of our respondents believe that the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia was adopted at the last referendum. This means

that people were voting in the referendum without having a clue what they are voting for! One need not say how far this is from democracy."

Dr. Biro also points out that their research pointed out another essential fact: A large number of people are disappointed in politics and seriously "suspect" all its moves. This is probably the reason that the poll question, "Do you suspect that the authorities will falsify the coming elections?" was answered by as many as 53 percent essentially in the affirmative: 27 percent directly with "yes," 26 percent with "I am not sure," and only 47 percent of the respondents directly said "no" when answering the question about the "elections being falsified."

Biro says that particularly interesting results, unprecedented in the history of political market research, were obtained regarding women. Such glaring differences in the opinions between the male and female population have not been registered anywhere else in the world. In our case, for instance, women indicate a greater support for the Democrats, and they almost completely reject the Serbian Renewal Movement. There is no doubt that this is a consequence of the "militant" image of the Serbian Renewal Movement that has been created in the public, and that in this respect women behave in keeping with their role as protectors of children and the home.

Here is another fact worth mentioning: drastic differences exist in value systems and motivations for "election conduct" between the respondents in Vojvodina and so-called Serbia proper. In Vojvodina, for instance, the primary question on the basis of which people decide for the party to which they give their vote is the standard of living, but in Serbia proper this is the protection of Serbian interests.

Pointing out that during the poll on this occasion, their agency used the Gallup method, Dr. Biro says that all our parties should pay much more attention to "political marketing," for the outcome of elections quite frequently depends on it. This applies particularly where the results are "close."

[A pie chart displays the following response to the question, "If the elections were to be held today, I would vote for....":

Serbian Socialist Party 26 percent, the Democratic Party 13 percent, the Serbian Renewal Movement 11 percent, the Serbian Democratic Party six percent, the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia four percent, the Radicals three percent, others four percent, and undecided 34 percent. The figures are as published.]

Commentary on Political Relations in Serbia

AU2709203490 Ljubljalna DELO in Slovene 21 Sep 90 p 6

[Bozo Kovac commentary: "Serbian Passionate Democracy"]

[Text] When Seselj's photographer threw his camera at Veton Surroi at the presentation of Markovic's party at Belgrade's Youth Hall, and hit the liberal writer Mirko Kovac instead, that provided the president of the Serbian Liberals, Ivan Djuric, with the first bloody argument to support his thesis. In his opinion, namely, if the Yugoslav crisis really has to be solved in a bloody way, bloody clashes will occur among Serbs themselves and not between Serbs and Albanians or between Serbs and Croats. Pessimistic Serbs may add another argument in favor of his thesis. Namely, people from Belgrade applauded Veton Surroi when he ended his speech. True, at that time Seselj had already led his guard, which had come to disturb the meeting of Markovic's party, out of the hall.

One may say that in their party election race, the Serbs have taken up democracy with a passion. In accordance with their temperament, they have rushed into political extremes. The Democrats put up a Karadjordjevic as a candidate, thereby taking the wind out of the monarchists' sails. National extremists are fanatically devoted to Vuk Draskovic. The Socialists, of course, stick with Slobodan Milosevic.

It appears, however, that some other candidate for the father of the nation may still be found. Reasonable people, and there are at least as many of them among the Serbs as among the Slovenes, will not follow extremists. This is why Slobodan Milosevic gained some support from precisely these people, because he made it public that he would not try to outdo the nationalists. He is now offering Serbs a better life, albeit not immediately. If he could, he would rather dismount the nationalist horse, which, sooner or later, throws everybody out of the saddle.

It is already late. People in Belgrade "intellectual salons" are starting to think differently. Nationalism, comprised of a mixture of Kosovo traumas and the memories of bloody Serbian-Croatian wartime events nourished anew is already spreading by metastasis. Democracy is buckling under the pressure of national populism which will be the worst cudgel used in the election contest among the parties. They are therefore seeking a nonparty personality who will be just sufficiently nationalistic to attract the people, but will also have to have a democratic soul and democratic conditioned reflexes. That personality would thus be able to establish a bridge between national democracy and a modern, democratic Serbia of the kind independent minded Serbs want to have. Nobody believes in quick recovery any longer.

The first choice is obvious. Dobrica Cosic, the author of "A Time of Death" and "The Believer," is considered to be the spiritual father of the Serbian people and its secular patriarch. As it has been observed in Belgrade, Serbia sometimes has good luck even during peacetime, and on this occasion it comes in the form of Dobrica. There are some difficulties in finding a party that may propose Dobrica Cosic as a candidate for president of

the republic since the Democrats have already nominated the prince. Young politicians are warming to the idea, and if they are joined by the majority of the liberal intelligentsia, the Serbian political map would be essentially changed.

If the skeptical Dobrica Cosic agreed to his nomination—but so far he has refused—the extreme nationalists would be saved only by an armed conflict in Kosovo, which is almost consistently called the "southern province." A clash would "homogenize" the Serbs willy-nilly, and they would then only be able to look at democracy in a shop window.

Things are no longer very far from a clash. As they have already announced, the Serbs will demand that the minister responsible for registering the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, "although he knew about its anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav orientation," be hauled on the carpet in the federal parliament. At the same time, they demand that the party should be struck off the federal register and thus banned. If one carefully reads the statements made by the federal government and Minister Kambovski, this may happen soon. Ibrahim Rugova would then have to go underground if he has enough time to do so, the party would be able to act only in secret, the system of parallel authorities in Kosovo would develop even more quickly, and the Albanian extremists, whom Rugova is now managing to restrain only with difficulty, will gain influence. The situation would be ripe for an armed conflict.

If Kosovo conflicts do not suffice, the memories of tragic Serbian-Croatian relations during World War II would help the Serbs to unite and the national extremists to prevail. The parties will find fertile ground for their activities, but there is nothing positive about this. It is probably for this reason that there has been such a response to the foundation of Markovic's party which offers a positive program. Although Ante Markovic makes political mistakes, simplifies relations in Yugoslavia, or fails sufficiently to take them into consideration or refuses to understand them, he is still offering a kind of middle road. As usual, nobody likes this road at the beginning, but many nevertheless will decide in favor of it.

Serb Party Calls For Multiparty Media Committees

AU2809075790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22-23 Sep 90 p 11

[Unattributed report: "The Demand of New Democracy"]

[Text] Belgrade—The party named the New Democracy-Movement for Serbia submitted a request yesterday to the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia for the programming committees of Radio Television Belgrade to be dissolved immediately and new ones to be appointed which would consist of representatives from all the newly formed parties.

New Democracy appeared as a political party this year with the transformation of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Serbia.

Serbs Protest Serbian Renewal Movement Meeting

AU2709184190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Several hundred Serbs and Montenegrins held a meeting this evening in Kosovo Polje to protest the meeting that has been announced by the Serbian Renewal Movement in this town.

It was said at this meeting that the Serbian leadership has been alongside the Kosovo Polje people at the worst of times and that the inhabitants of this town are resolutely against people, like Vuk Draskovic, who want to alienate the Serbian people.

Particular tribute was paid to Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of Serbia, for the historical transformation of the position of Serbs in Kosovo.

It was said that Vuk Draskovic and his followers would not be welcome in Kosovo Polje. It was demanded that the communal authorities ban the meeting by the Serbian Renewal Movement.

It was decided to hold a counter-meeting at noon on Saturday [29 September] in the same place where the meeting of the Serbian Renewal Movement is planned, in order to extend full support to Slobodan Milosevic.

The meeting ended with chants of Slobodan Milosevic's name.

Serbian Party Main Committee Resignations Given

LD2809093290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0743 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Summary] Dvor na Uni, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—Several officials of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) Main Committee for Dvor na Uni have recently resigned. They are: the president of the Main Committee, Predrag Popovic; and Main Committee members, Nenad Popovic, Milan Puhaca, Stanimir Dobric, Dragan Vranesevic, and Dusko Glusac. They have been replaced by Bogdan Vajagic, who has been elected the president of the Main Committee, Dusan Caric, Milos Mrkobrada, Milan Vuisak, Slobodan Vujcic, Dusan Beic, Jugoslav Borojevic, and Miroslav Oljaca.

Serbia's Radmilovic on Migration From Kosovo

AU2709180290 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Sep 90 pp 6, 7

[Unattributed report: "Proud of Migrations and Revival"]

[Excerpts] Sremski Karlovci, 22 Sep—Interrupted with enthusiastic and tumultuous applause and chanting, Dr. Stanko Radmilovic, president of the Executive Council of Serbia, today addressed a crowd of some 100,000 people who came to Sremski Karlovci to attend the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the migration of Serbs under Arsenije Carnojevic the Third to what is today Vojvodina. [passage omitted]

The postwar leaderships of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Vojvodina are responsible for the conditions which led to new migration, to what is, in fact, the persecution of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija, to a migration of Serbs that is even greater than that caused by Turks, Tartars, and Albanians 300 years ago. The consequence of these conditions is that the Serbian population, which was still in a majority even after recent migrations, has become distinctly a minority population, and that Kosovo will soon become ethnically pure. Would losing all trace of one nation in its traces in its own homeland not be an unprecedented drama?

Two years ago, however, Serbian people said a historic, "No." The persecution of Serbs and Montenegrins from their centuries old hearths must stop. There have been enough such migrations of Serbs; Serbia must not be broken into pieces.

Kosovo and Metohija are, and will remain, an integral part of Serbia, Radmilovic stressed and added: There is no price which the Serbian people would not pay for it if the need arose. Albanian separatists should understand this. They should understand that with their insane activities they are leading their compatriots astray, that they cannot gain anything, and that they will have to bear the responsibility for the consequences.

It is a sad fact that some parts of Yugoslavia are supporting Albanian separatists, even now when it is clear to everyone that what is happening is not what the separatists transparently claimed before; that what is involved is not a lack of equality and the violation of human rights in Kosovo, but the rule of law protecting the territorial integrity of Serbia and Yugoslavia. One must say that this support should not surprise us, because it is clear that these parts of the country are not concerned about human rights and democracy in Kosovo, but are perfidiously trying to use Kosovo to break up Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Rugova Protests Federal Position on Kosovo

AU2809080490 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 23 Sep 90 pp 1, 4-5

[Emin Azemi and Blerim Reka report: "Investigations Against Albanian Members of the Government"]

[Excerpts] Pristina 22 Sep—There was no truth whatsoever in the bombastic announcement in some Belgrade newspapers today and Belgrade Television's main newscast yesterday evening about the alleged "imprisonment of the leader and five members of the Kosovo Government and of the general director of Pristina Radio and Television." The only part of it which was true was the announcement from Pristina District Court's decision to detain and initiate investigations against Jusuf Zejnullahu, president of the Kosovo Executive Council; Jusuf Karakushi, secretary for internal affairs; Dr. Muharrem Bicaj, secretary for science, education, and culture; Leke Vuksani, secretary for health, labor, and social policy; Isa Mustafa, secretary of the Kosovo Executive Council; Selajdin Skeja, secretary for communications; and Agim Mala, general director of Pristina Radio and Television. However, so far as is known, of these only Selajdin Skeja has been detained and is now in prison, and none of the others who are accused of the crime of "association for hostile activity" (Article 136, Paragraph 1 of the Yugoslav Penal Code) and the crime of jeopardizing territorial integrity (Article 116, Paragraph 12) has been detained. The number of delegates and members of the government who have been detained therefore remains unchanged at five: four delegates (Raif Ramabaja, Nazif Matoshi, Ismajl Sahiti, and Fatos Pula), and one minister (Selajdin Skeja).

The warnings of the Federal Secretariat for Justice and Administration that the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [DSK] will be banned as a political party in Kosovo and Yugoslavia was probably the reason why yesterday's DSK news conference drew a larger audience, including foreign as well as Kosovar and Yugoslav journalists.

DSK Chairman Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said at the beginning of the news conference that despite the statements of the federal organs we still insist that the Kosovo Assembly and its Executive Council must resume their work as soon as possible, as must the Albanian-language media: Pristina Radio and Television and RILINDJA. At the same time we condemn the police violence being carried out in Kosovo. The punitive expeditions of the police are continuing and, according to our information, a second expedition was organized the day before yesterday in some villages of Kamenica Commune, which surrounded three villages. These expeditions continued all last week.

The Albanians' Traditional Patience and Wisdom Will Overcome Again

Rugova then said that in recent days we have also had reactions to the declaration of the Kosovo Constitution. The most recent response was that of the SFRY Presidency the evening before last, which was no different from that of the Federal Executive Council [FEC]. It is now clear to us that it is not and never has been the Serbs alone who are wielding power in Kosovo, but that everything that has happened and is still happening in Kosovo is being done with the blessing of the federal authorities. We hold the FEC, which has been silent for six whole months, responsible for this. If you remember, Rugova said, the FEC last spoke about the Albanians in January, when it accused them of being antireformist, a

term which has in fact replaced the word counterrevolutionary. This very same FEC has been silent until today, in spite of all the evils which have taken place in Kosovo recently, from the repressions down to the murders of Albanians. The FEC now sees fit to react and to call the Kosovo Assembly delegates an illegal group of citizens, thus attempting to criminalize a legal form of activity. This is nothing but outright hypocrisy: The FEC and the SFRY Presidency, instead of creating conditions for the normal work of the Kosovo Assembly, declare that this assembly's delegates are acting illegally, and this means that the FEC is acting against its own reforms. We tell the SFRY Presidency and the FEC that this is no way to enter Europe, and that it is hard to maintain leadership even in Yugoslavia in such a way. The earlier standpoint of the SFRY Presidency, that democratic methods must supposedly solve the problems, have been for us nothing but pure demagogy, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said.

We therefore demand, he said, the earliest possible release of the Kosovo Assembly delegates and an end to their persecution, because there is no basis for it. They have committed no crime and have not used violence, but have merely declared the will of the Albanian people and have acted on the basis of their consciences, as is a delegate's right. The demand for a mandatory commission and the talk about the Serbian Assembly's right to remove the immunity of the delegates of the Kosovo Assembly are ridiculous, because they have only remembered the immunity of our delegates three months after the suspension of the Kosovo Assembly. This violates the SFRY Constitution, Rugova said, but this has now become commonplace, because everybody, including the SFRY Presidency and the other federal organs, not to mention Serbia, is now violating the Constitution.

I must say a few words, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said, about the attack of Federal Deputy Secretary Misovic regarding the Albanians' alleged preparations for an armed struggle, because these resemble Lazar Mojsov's announcement of a "staff document" [asserting the existence of an Albanian "counterrevolutionary staff of command"] in the SFRY Assembly in March of last year. It means that they now want a grand finale, with both the delegates and the members of the Kosovo Alternative sentenced. Equally absurd is the Bolshevik and Stalinist logic whereby the United States and other forces are involved. Hearing such things from the mouths of people in responsible positions must drive a person crazy. This is Bolshevik logic, always looking for demons to excuse its own behavior.

Nor are we in the least surprised by the campaign against the DSK, because it has existed since we started. These people are communist throwbacks who appear even today under so-called democracy. The purpose of the whole campaign is to keep both pluralism and democracy from the Albanians. The threats to the DSK show that from now on the Albanians will be treated like slaves and not people, God's people with their own rights. Nevertheless, Rugova said, we will continue with our work. He then thanked Pucnik for the congratulations he sent on the announcement of the Kosovo Constitution, as well as the other Slovene and Croat parties who support the Kosovo Constitution. Regardless of the campaign against the DSK, our authority as a truly democratic party is rising all the time. We have been requested, he said, to found a branch even in Belgrade. A lady from Belgrade has indicated her desire to form a DSK branch, but I will not mention her name because this could lead to consequences. [passage omitted]

Professor Dr. Fehmi Agani said that the main reason for the campaign against the DSK must be sought in the fact that the DSK has routed the Serbian Socialist Party throughout Kosovo.

Almost all the other journalists' questions related to whether Markovic's government wishes to eliminate the DSK from the federal elections because it considers the DSK a worthy opponent to the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia. The reply was that this may be true, but is not the whole truth. In reply to the question of whether the Albanians will boycott the elections in Yugoslavia if the DSK is banned, it was said that there are some people who want this to happen, even though the world would then know that the elections in Yugoslavia are taking place without the Albanians. Elections must take place in Yugoslavia before the end of the year. It is also worth mentioning the questions about how the DSK will work in the future if it is banned. It was said that the DSK enjoys authority in both Yugoslav and European democratic circles, and if the DSK is banned, nobody can guarantee that other groups will be able to stand. Asked finally whether, if the DSK is banned, any unpredictable reaction of the Albanian people might be expected, Ibrahim Rugova said that the ultimate purpose of the provocations against the DSK is to bring the Albanian people out on the streets. Professor Agani added to this that the political movement in Kosovo has all the characteristics of a national liberation movement, and this movement cannot be stopped. If it comes to a blockade of such a party as the DSK, it means a desire exists to eliminate all means whereby the Albanians' may express their political will. [passage omitted]

Medicines Confiscated Again From the Catholic Church of Bince Near Vitina

Among the recent steps of the "rule-of-law state" of Serbia must be mentioned the repeated confiscation of medicines from Bince church. This time, the police and two pharmaceutical inspectors confiscated 90 percent of the medicines. Eva Bogdan and Branko Matijevic, pharmacists of the Serbian Health Secretariat, and Milan Tubin, inspector of the Internal Affairs Secretariat, assisted in the confiscation, alongside four militiamen from the Vitina Internal Affairs Secretariat and the commander of the local militia unit. The parish priest, Don Ndue Gjorgji, and the nun, Jela Andjelic, were present. After collecting all the medicines, the militia threatened the clinic's staff that if they continue to treat people the clinic will be closed.

With the start of the new school year, the poisoning of Albanian schoolchildren has begun again. For instance, in the afternoon shift at the Aca Marovic school in Kosovo Polje on 20 September, when only Albanian pupils were present, five pupils showed symptoms of poisoning, with flushed faces, cramped limbs, and headaches. This caused panic among the pupils, who abandoned the school in alarm. Even in this case, there was no lack of "vigilance" on the part of the militiamen. They even selected pupils with symptoms of poisoning and took them to the Neuropsychiatric Clinic of Pristina Medical Faculty. Meanwhile, 12 pupils at the Mosa Pijade school in Urosevac complained of poisoning, which brings the number of new cases of poisoning in this commune to 25. It is worth emphasizing that the two health clinics are being guarded by the militia, and new cases of poisoning can only be accepted after first reporting to (and being examined by!) the militia.

Kosovo Party Reminds Presidency of its Duties

AU2809074790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Sep 90 p 3

["M.A."-signed report: "'Forgotten' Declaration"]

[Text] Pristina—As concerns the way to (dis)solve the Yugoslav political crisis which the SFRY Presidency has proposed, the Movement of Yugoslav Prospects [Pokret Jugoslovenske Perspektive] appeared yesterday in Pristina to issue a letter to Assembly delegates and the SFRY Presidency which says, among other things:

"The SFRY Presidency forgets its 'solemn declaration' which requires it to fight for the protection of the country's sovereignty, independence, and integrity, the attainment of brotherhood and unity, and the realization of the common interests of the working people and citizens of the SFRY, to observe the SFRY Constitution, and to responsibly carry out its duties."

Kosovo Youth Protest to Markovic Over Killings

AU2809075190 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 22 Sep 90 p 5

["SH.U."-signed report: "Open Letter to Markovic"]

[Text] Along with an open letter to Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, ZERI I RINISE [Voice of the Youth] has published 60 photographs of Albanians killed by police in 1989-90.

"We know you are busy," the open letter says. "You are busy with your reform, your party, your cabinet. Nevertheless you could sacrifice just five minutes to look at the exhibits, the faces of this great show of horror which happened in Kosovo in 1989 and 1990. They happened in Kosovo where your justice and your government have been in power, at a time when you were (and you still are) the prime minister. You, Mr. Ante Markovic, are at the head of a government which is responsible for the deaths of 74 citizens of Kosovo, and for the wounding of over 400 citizens. You, Mr. Markovic, did not feel it necessary on a single occasion to express your condolences to the families of the victims in Kosovo.

"Look at these faces. They were citizens of Yugoslavia, they had faith in Yugoslavia, they pinned their hopes on you and your government."

Slovene Assembly Passes Constitutional Amendments

LD2809093990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0855 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] Ljubljana,, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Republic of Slovania today formally proclaimed the amendments to the Slovene Constitution at the joint session of all three chambers.

A discussion and the adoption of two supplementary constitutional laws are under way. Members of the Presidency of the Slovene Republic, headed by President Milan Kucan, are attending the session.

Reaffirms Sovereignty Declaration

LD2709141790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1339 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—At their separate sessions today the delegates of all three chambers of the Assembly of the Republics of Slovenia adopted amendments to the republic's constitution. The amendments are yet another step toward confirming the legality of the declaration on Slovene sovereignty. The delegates failed to endorse the proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution which, in their view, have not been harmonized in accordance with the SFRY Constitution. The amendments to the republic's constitution will be officially inaugurated at a joint session tomorrow.

Federal Legislation Inapplicable in Slovenia

LD2709174590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1651 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Ljubljana, September 27 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia on Thursday adopted the amendment to the republican constitution stating that federal legislation adopted thus far was no longer applicable in Slovenia.

Federal legislation adopted after the amendment would apply in Slovenia only if endorsed by the republican parliament.

The parliament also adopted an amendment transferring the competence of territorial defense, as well as appointment of territorial defense commander, to the republican authorities.

Territorial defense is part of the Yugoslav Armed Forces. It is commanded by the supreme commander of the Armed Forces, i.e., the Presidency of Yugoslavia.

According to this amendment, the Slovene parliament would in the future also regulate the manner in which military service is to be carried out as well as (?other) questions relating to military service, for which the federal leadership was hitherto responsible.

The Slovene parliament refused to give the go-ahead to the amendments to the federal constitution because ethnic Albanians, delegates of the dissolved Kosovo Provincial Assembly, no longer take part in the work of the Federal parliament. Kosovo is a province of Yugoslavia's largest republic: Serbia.

The Slovene parliament also adopted a statement protesting the arrest of several delegates of the Kosovo Provincial Assembly after they illegally proclaimed the so-called constitution of the Republic of Kosovo.

Kucan Denies Passivity in Territory Defense Case

AU2709152590 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 24 Sep 90 p 2

[Letter by Sloven President Milan Kucan to Demos United Opposition President Joze Pucnik; place and date not given: "Milan Kucan's Reply to Joze Pucnik"]

[Text] Respected Mr. Pucnik,

I have read your letter and was surprised by the tone of its assertions and questions. You know very well that it is not at all true that I only "passively observed things and did nothing" about the whole affair concerning the Territorial Defense Forces of Slovenia. All that has been done—not only by me, but also by the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia—has been presented to the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia in two comprehensive reports. It has been elaborated further by Presidency member Dusan Plut at the sessions of the assembly chambers, the president of the Slovene Assembly has been informed about it in particular, and the Slovene public has been informed about it by the media. Demos [United Opposition], of which you are the president, has agreed with the activity of the Presidency and has given it its explicit public support, as Dusan Plut, member of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia and of the Demos Presidency, said in a public statement issued on 26 July 1990.

You also know very well that the present legal regulations in this sphere do not enable the bodies of the Republic of Slovenia to fully regulate it according to their powers; on the contrary, the majority of these powers are reserved for the federation and its bodies. You also know about all the proposals and demands the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia has made to these bodies—above all the SFRY Presidency—including the demand for the commander of the Territorial Defense Forces to be relieved of his duties, as well as about these bodies' replies. On the basis of the assembly stands, the Presidency of Slovenia and the Republican Executive Council have prepared a proposal of amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, a constitutional law for its implementation, and initiated the procedure of drafting a new national defense law. In this way, this sphere, and in particular territorial defense—its regulation as well as its organization and command—would be entirely within the competence of our republic, with newly defined powers and relations between the Presidency, the assembly, the Executive Council, and the republican secretary for national defense. The Slovene Assembly will decide about that on Wednesday [as published], 27 September 1990. The Presidency and the Republican Secretariat for National Defense have already prepared the proposals of executive decrees according to which these organs will, immediately after the assembly decision, begin to regulate relations in the area of territorial defense, including the nomination of a new Republican Command of the Territorial Defense Forces and the commander of the Territorial Defense Forces of Slovenia. Being the president of Demos and of the Slovene Social Democratic Party, you must know all this, including the fact that neither the Republican Command of the Territorial Defense Forces nor the Federal Secretariat for National Defense officially informed the Presidency about the transfer of the territorial defense weapons; furthermore, that the Presidency stopped the process immediately after the first reports began arriving from the communes.

In order to reassure our public, let me say that the Presidency, the Executive Council, and the Republican Secretariat for National Defense in particular—in close cooperation with many officers in the units, organizations, and organs of the Slovene Territorial Defense Forces and with their help—have done all that is necessary to secure the performance of all the essential functions of the Slovene Territorial Defense Forces under these circumstances. You would probably agree that in this sphere, at least as long as it exists as a necessary evil, there are things which must not be discussed in public correspondence. They are reserved for those people who have won the confidence of voters in democratic elections and have been charged with regulating them. Responsibility lies with them.

I, however, assure you, Mr. Pucnik, that I will continue to act in such a way as to avoid involving the Slovenes and our republic in unnecessary and useless conflicts.

Yours respectfully, Milan Kucan.

Kucan Says Federation 'Unrealistic' for Slovenia

LD2709191590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serob-Croatian 1658 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Radenci, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—The concept of Yugoslavia as a federation is completely unrealistic from the Slovene point of view. This was stressed by Slovene President Milan Kucan at a gathering organised in Radenci by the Menadzer Businessmens' Association in cooperation with the center for education of the Slovene Economic Chamber.

According to Kucan, Slovenia can resolve the issue of future relations between Yugoslav nations only as a completely sovereign state. This means that it must as soon as possible adopt a new constitution in a democratic fashion and hold a referendum to test whether there is consensus on this in the republic.

Such a referendum, Kucan said, could provide an opportunity for Slovene citizens to voice their views on what type of relations with others they want to have. In connection with this, Milan Kucan holds that the referendum should provide several options: confederation, federation, and even full independence.

Yugoslavia is in the process of a birth of a new historical agreement, Kucan said, and went on to add that it will be best if, after democratic elections in all republics, authorized delegations of the sovereign states meet at a constituent assembly, which will propose different types of relations within Yugoslavia. These proposals will be put forward as different options from with citizens will choose in republican referenda.

The first and the second Yugoslavia were based on the joint defense interests of all Yugoslav nations, Kucan stressed, and added that economic interests now play a significant role. Therefore, when considering future relations between the Yugoslav peoples, it ought to be stated what are the common economic interests of these sovereign states.

Slovene Poll Shows Support for Confederation

AU2809075490

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 22 September on pages 1, and 3 carries a 700-word report by Slava Partlic entitled "Public Opinion on Yugoslavia's Structure" on an opinion poll carried out by DELO-Stik on 19 and 20 September among a sample of "1,000 subscribers selected by computer from all over Slovenia, in which 584 responded (others either could not be reached or they specifically refused to cooperate."

Three diagrams present the results as follows:

1. "Which system would in your opinion be best for the future of Slovenia?"	
Federal system	4.8%
Confederal system	47.8%
Unitary system	0.7%
Secession of Slovenia	34.9%
Do not know, will not say	11.8%

2. "Do you think that the Slovene authorities have shaped their proposals about the future position of Slovenia with sufficient precision?"	
Yes	13.5%
Only partly	18.8%
No	57.5%
Do not know	10.2%

3. "Do you think that a confederal union between Slovenia and Croatia would be sensible?"	
Yes	59.1%
No	24.3%
Do not know	16.6%

In addition, the report contains the following poll results [figures as published]:	
In favor of a confederation...	
with all the Yugoslav republics that respect a confederal agreement	35.5%
with Croatia	30.1%
with Croatian and Bosnia-Hercegovina	18.5%
with nobody	6.5%
do not know	4.3%

Joint institutions should be...	
spread among confederal units	59.4%
in a single place	27.6%
does not matter	2.4%
no opinion	10.6%

Those who consider a confederation with Croatia sensible think so because...	
it will be easier to master economic difficulties	29.8%
it will be easier to achieve independence	15.1%
it is the only possibility	7.0%
it is only a temporary structure	4.5%

Those who do not consider a confederation with Croatia sensible think so because...	
Slovenia would again be economically exploited	28.9%
interethnic friction could start again	23.2%
Slovenia would lose some independence	21.8%
it is a waste of time and effort	13.4%

"The respondents are in favor of Slovenia establishing closer links with the neighboring regions, which is to say with all of them (64.7 percent). Some think that it should link up with Carinthia and Styria (18.7 percent), others with Friuli-Venezia Giulia (5.7 percent), or with Bavaria (4.8 percent). Only three respondents were against such links, and 31 were undecided."

Barricades Set Up in Petrinja; Related to Knin

AU2809103390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] This morning, Petrinja woke up with barricades in its streets. The cause was an attempt to take away weapons from the public security station and the perpetrators are assumed to have been members of the special units of the Croatian militia.

Barricades have been put up in all main streets and particularly in the roads leading from the town center toward the Gavrilovic Meat Processing Plant.

The event is connected with the recent events in Knin where citizens opposed threats to their security.

Macedonian Constitutional Changes Promulgated

AU2709181490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Sep 90 p 3

[N. Batkoski report: "Radical Changes"]

[Text] Skopje—At a joint session, the delegates of all three chambers of the Assembly of Macedonia endorsed the amendments to the SFRY Constitution and promulgated the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. Amendment 70 was the only amendment to the federal Constitution that was not endorsed. The Assembly of Macedonia considered that this amendment gives too many powers to the federation and its organs.

The amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia make radical changes in the republic's political and economic system. All forms of ownership have been put on an equal footing, and the delegate system and the three-chamber assembly have been dissolved, while a single-chamber assembly with 120 deputies has been introduced. The single-chamber parliament will elect the government, which will have greater powers than the present Executive Council. Furthermore, instead of the current Presidency of the Republic, a president of the Republic—who will have a vice president—will be chosen in elections, which will be held in November.

An electoral law was also adopted, according to whose provisions elections will be organized in Macedonia on the principle of the proportional system. Candidates for deputies will be nominated by political parties, or they will nominate themselves and will be supported by the signatures of 150 citizens. The delegates also adopted a law on constituencies for the election of deputies to the Assembly of Macedonia which expects that 120 deputies will be elected to parliament. It is expected that the president of the Assembly of Macedonia will schedule elections for November.

Macedonia To Cut Contribution to Undeveloped Fund

LD2709183890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1604 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Summary] Skopje, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—The Macedonian Executive Council today decided to cut by 95 percent its contribution to the federal fund for financing economic development in the undeveloped republics and the Province of Kosovo. The Executive Council stressed that the decision was prompted by the fact that, whereas Macedonia has been fulfilling its financial obligations towards the fund. Consequently, the Macedonian budget is in the red.

Call Made for Changes in Bosnian Election Law

LD2709173190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1011 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—If the election law in Bosnia-Hecegovina is not changed, the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] will not boycott the elections, but will point out to the Serbian people what awaits it, and will leave up to people to decide whether to vote or not.

This was stated at today's regular SDS for Bosnia-Hecegovina press conference, which drew attention to the dramatic position in which the Serbian people finds itself in this republic. According to the party representatives, the conditions for extermination of Serbs in Bosnia-Hecegovina in a constitutional and legal manner have been created.

Changes to the law should introduce a chamber of nations and set up the republic as a single election unit.

Democratic Socialist Alliance Aided by Situation

LD2709173290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—The current political climate in Bosnia-Hercegovina has had a favorable impact on membership of the Democratic Socialist Alliance [Demokratski Socijalisticki Savez—DSS], which currently has 120,000 members. This was announced at today's press conference held by the DSS.

The DSS has so far held 13 founding assemblies. The majority of them were organized in conjunction with the League of Communists. The DSS, as stated, is in favor of a broad cooperation with left-wing forces. Municipal organizations are even authorized to enter into coalitions on their own will. Regarding cooperation with national parties, this has not yet been achieved, and, at this, moment, is not possible.

Party members, unlike members of other parties, roughly reflect the national structure of the population of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The DSS will promote its election program on Saturday in the Skenderija youth center in Sarajevo.

Hungarian Language Paper Published in Vojvodina

AU2709124090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Sep 90 p 4

["Z.S."-signed report: "First Party Newspaper"]

[Text] Novi Sad—Vojvodina based opposition parties and associations have launched their first newspaper. There is a Hungarian language newspaper, Hirmondo [Herald], that has just been published by the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians. With this paper the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians wants to inform its membership and the general public of its activities in detail, because, as known, this organization

and other opposition parties in Vojvodina are not satisfied with the amount of space devoted to them by other media.

Presidency's Stand on Constitutional Reform Path

LD2709161190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1108 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—A definite decision on how to resolve the constitutional crisis should be made by the citizens of Yugoslavia in a referendum. Their political will expressed in this way would form a political platform for the constitutional reconstruction of the SFRY.

This is stressed in a document entitled "The Program of Activity in Implementing Changes in Constitutional Relations in the SFRY with a View to Resolving the Constitutional Crisis." The document was submitted today to the Federal Assembly by the Presidency of Yugoslavia.

The Presidency drew up the "Program" in cooperation with the presidencies of the republics and provinces. It contains all the measures and activities to be taken by the Assembly of Yugoslavia and all the republics, as well as the federal state Presidency.

The proposed measures proceed from the right to self-determination, including the right to secession. It names the peoples of Yugoslavia as exclusive factors in the efforts to resolve Yugoslavia's constitutional crisis. It is stressed that all democratically proposed options must be considered before work starts on resolving the crisis.

Yugoslavia's constitutional system is in a crisis of a type and intensity which have been hampering the system's functioning, with a real danger of blocking and halting it, bringing serious consequences for the political and security situation in the country. Although the proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution are inadequate for overcoming the present situation, it is obvious that by accepting them scope will be created for consolidating current social and economic reforms and for multiparty elections in the republics and the federation.

The collective head of state is of the view that neither speedier reform processes nor the completion of electoral activities by the end of the year could resolve the main issue, i.e. the relationship between the Yugoslav nations in a common state and the relations between the republics in the federation.

The provision for the democratic transformation of the SFRY constitutional system proceeds from the fact that the existing constitutional system cannot be legally suspended or politically ignored until its transformation is carried out in a constitutional way.

The option of a spontaneous gradual disintegration of the country—which seems to be the main characteristic of present tendencies—can in no way be regarded as an acceptable way of resolving Yugoslavia's constitutional and political crisis, the Presidency stresses in this document. In line with its rights and responsibilities the SFRY Assembly, as the highest authoritative body, should secure the legal and political conditions for a peaceful, democratic, and comprehensive solution for the present constitutional crisis. The Presidency expects the Federal Assembly to endorse its program of activities.

The work on the constitutional reconstruction of the country on a democratic basis should provide an answer to the key question of whether Yugoslavia will survive, within which territorial framework, and on which conceptual foundations.

The Presidency is drawing attention to the fact that, parallel with the reform trends, very powerful disintegration processes are underway in Yugoslavia.

Today the most controversial issue is what character the Yugoslav state should assume, and its unity at the federal level is being daily brought into question; these things urge us to find a solution.

"This initiative is not in conflict with the processes, already launched, of finding a way out of the economic and social crisis, but represents a necessary way of opposing those who want, through partial solutions in their republics, to one-sidedly impose upon Yugoslavia their special status by unconstitutional methods," the Presidency stresses.

The current constitutional crisis can be resolved exclusively through a new "historical agreement" between peoples in the Yugoslav community about two key issues:

1. Whether they want to continue to live together in the Yugoslav community, and if the answer is positive,

2. What character will the community assume?

With regard to these two issues, at the political scene several initiatives have been aired in a more or less concrete form:

—To adopt a new constitution of the Yugoslav Federation which would determine afresh the common interests of the Yugoslav nations and ways of pursuing them;

—To transform the Yugoslav federation into a confederation on the basis of a special contract, which the current federal units would sign as the then sovereign and independent states;

—A variation to the above solution is to adopt an asymmetric model of community, which means in practice that a republic could have a confederal status within a broader federal community;

—A specific variation to be used in the last resort—if no agreement on any of the previous solutions is reached on the basis of the nations' right to self-determination,

including the right to secession—a republic, if its citizens vote for it, can decide to leave the SFRY.

The Presidency stresses that the overall process of transformation of the existing constitutional order, irrespective of which direction it takes, must be exclusively the result of the political will, that is, a joint agreement between the Yugoslav nations, i.e., the freely expressed will of the citizens in their republics.

The federal bodies, the Presidency document states, must necessarily provide institutional frameworks within which the process of changes will unfold in a peaceful and democratic manner. Without such frameworks, these processes will unfold outside the institutions, and their outcome will depend on the balance of power, which, judging by the present state of affairs, could end in the most dramatic form of civil war, which in turn will place in jeopardy the vital interests of all the Yugoslav nations.

The above role of the federal bodies is grounded in the constitutional order in force, and no one can relieve them of the related responsibilities. This does not call into question the decisive role which the republics have in the process of political decisionmaking.

The Presidency warns that it is an unacceptable approach to proceed from the point of view that the process of the transformation of the Yugoslav federation ought to unfold within the framework of republican constitutional systems becoming independent from the federal one, as if there is no Yugoslavia. This would lead to chaos, with catastrophic consequences not difficult to predict. In the course of agreeing on conditions for joint life and drawing up a new "historical agreement," the Yugoslav nations will possibly make a decision about new conditions for life together within both federal and confederal frameworks. In line with this, a solution representing a political and legal breakdown of the federal community must not be imposed upon the Yugoslav nations. This means that the possibility of a spontaneous breakup of Yugoslavia can in no case be used as a presupposition for resolving the constitutional and political crisis. The SFRY Presidency will not and cannot allow this.

The Presidency has been informing the Federal Assembly about political activities which ought to be undertaken and about preparations of materials, documents, and analyses which would assist the task of resolving the constitutional crisis.

In the case of failure to reach a common agreement through political activities, clearly outlined possible solutions will be defined. Citizens will have to make the final decision about this through referenda in the republics. Naturally, this presupposes that before the referenda are called, citizens will have to be fully informed about the content and significance of their decision.

After receiving results of the referenda on the future order in the Yugoslav community, the SFRY Assembly will, in accordance with the citizens' will, endorse an act of reconstruction or transformation of the Yugoslav community.

In the "Program," the Presidency also puts forward possible variants for the outcome of the referendum.

If the SFRY Assembly concludes that it has been decided in all republics to continue to exist together in a Yugoslav community which will have a federal system, then parliament will proclaim this in a special act and will decide to begin the drafting of the constitution of the Yugoslav federation.

If a number of republics decide to continue to coexist within the framework of the Yugoslav community on the federal principle, while certain republics (or several of them) decide on confederal status, or separation from the Yugoslav federal community, the Assembly will act as follows: first, the Assembly will proclaim in a special act the continuation of the coexistence in the Yugoslav Federation of those republics which decide on this; a decision will be taken to begin drafting a constitution for the Yugoslav Federation; and a special law will be adopted on the implementation of the division between the Yugoslav federal community which continues to exist and those republics which decide on a confederal structure, that is, on secession from the Yugoslav community.

This law would determine a transitional period in which the division would be realized and the method formulated for resolving the material and other relations which arise out of such a situation, particularly the important issue of territorial demarcation. Territorial demarcation can only be carried out on the basis of the freely expressed will of the people and citizens in a referendum. After the expiry of the legally established transitional period and the legal resolution of all necessary relations set out in the law on separation, the SFRY Assembly would proclaim the state and legal ties between the Yugoslav federation and the republics which continue their existence as independent state communities.

In all this, it is essential to ensure the constitutional, political, and international legal continuity between the present SFRY and, in these conditions, the declared Yugoslav federation in its reduced territorial framework and the parts of the country which become independent.

This is the precondition for ensuring control over the course of events and preventing chaos in the country. Certain legal (and international legal) relations would naturally be established both with the federal Yugoslavia in its new territorial framework, and with the republics which became fully independent.

It is reasonable to hold, the document further states, that these states will establish the appropriate successive relations with the Yugoslav federation, which would continue to exist within new territorial frameworks. This, in fact, refers to continuity of certain rights and obligations which would be divided between a Yugoslav

federation and a newly created state in accordance with the conditions set for separation.

Afterwards, if the necessary political conditions are ripe, a confederal agreement will be signed between a Yugoslav federation and a republic which opted for a confederal system.

If it is established that all republics voted in favor of a confederation (or only one republic wants a federation), the SFRY Assembly will adopt a document on separation, stating that the SFRY no longer exists and proclaiming new sovereign states in the form of the former republics. The Assembly document will also regulate conditions for carrying out separation (the interim period, material relations, territorial demarcation).

Suggesting that the SFRY Assembly "respond positively" to this political initiative, the Presidency holds that the Federal Assembly ought to make an appropriate decision or adopt a specific constitutional-legal document regulating the act of reconstitution of the SFRY. This means that the constitutional-legal document will necessarily stipulate the subjects and forms of decision making about future mutual relations within Yugoslavia and the manner of defining mutual relations in the case of separation. It will also outline further documents which ought to be endorsed at specific points and within set deadlines.

Finally, the Presidency stresses that the SFRY Constitution and laws in force will be applied for those remaining in a federal Yugoslavia until a new constitution is adopted, and for those who decide to leave it until laws on separation are adopted. Laws on separation regulate the following issues: material and legal relations arising from the breakup of the state, and legal relations between a Yugoslav federal state, which succeeds the current state, and a republic which is leaving; conditions and ways of carrying out territorial demarcation; the interim period during which the separation is being carried out; and functions of the federal bodies in the interim period.

Government Counteracting Inflation With Imports

AU2709144790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Sep 90 p 6

[Blazo Sarovic report: "Press Conference in the Federal Executive Council: With Imports Against Inflation"]

[Text] Belgrade—Having noticed the above-average increase of prices—and thus inflation—in the preceding quarter of this year, the federal government is responding with imports of consumer goods to the value of about $1 billion. Borivoje Zivanovic, assistant federal secretary for trade; Dusanka Stricevic, deputy director of the Federal Institute for Prices, and their assistants spoke about this at a press conference in Federal Executive Council.

Two reasons in particular influenced the currents of the macroeconomic policy in this period: drought and the rapid rise of oil prices, which inflicted tremendous damage on our economy and directly influenced the "awakening" of inflation. Of course, everyone in the Federal Executive Council also knows that decreased supply is the basic cause of the price increases, and they decided to act along three parallel tracks in order to improve supply: import contingents have been set for some goods, the import regime has been changed for some others, and taxes and import dues have been reduced for others still. Intervention from the commodity reserves is also not "ruled out."

All the contingents set will be activated depending on the situation on the market, and the practice so far has shown that the market is more settled if it is under the threatening shadow of imported goods. The example was given that out of 5,000 tonnes of approved poulty imports, not a single kilogram was imported, the reason being that the agreement between the producers and the Federal Executive Council was honored and the price of poultry has not been increased to the present day. Now that it has been noticed that prices are rising, poultry will be imported.

All the contingents have been freed from special dues, from which one can deduce the efforts of the federal government to make imported goods as cheap as possible. Among the goods for which the import regime has been changed, many goods have been moved from the so-called LBS category to the LB [expansions not known] list, which, in fact, means more liberal imports of those goods for which it was noticed that their prices tend to rise on the domestic market. Until the end of this year, this status will be applied to imported kitchen ware, cables, cocoa, coffee, melons, grapefruit, lemons, tangerines, oranges, pineapple, dates, honey, bananas, and other tropical fruit. State dues have been reduced from 7.5 to 5.5 percent on both counts, so that food mixers, vacuum cleaners, storage heaters, dishwashers, curtains, woolen blankets, jumpers, fir boards, vegetables, and fruit should be at least four percent cheaper.

In the eight capitals of the republics and provinces in the first 14 days of September, during which period prices were monitored, considerable differences were noted in the prices of individual goods. In Sarajevo and Skopje, therefore, prices of food products rose (but it is not said by how much), while in Novi Sad, prices of sugar and oil rose, but they were still much below the prices in the shops in Titograd, Zagreb, or Ljubljana. On the basis of the reports received by the Federal Price Institute, it is seen that more than 50 percent of the increased prices in these towns relate to a small group of products. The prices of furniture and ready-made clothing still show a tendency to fall, apart from seasonal reductions. It is known that mark-ups are responsible for a significant percentage of retail prices, but their reduction is noticeable in some goods and not in others. The mark-ups have been reduced in cement, building materials, and carpentry, but on the other hand, the leather and leather

products trade maintains high mark-ups. This particularly applies to leather footwear where the mark-up has reached 45 to 60 percent of the price.

It is believed that reserves are still present in prices, but among the 23 industrial branches under observation, 13 branches nevertheless increased the prices of their products instead of decreasing them, and 10 branches reduced their prices only partially, although all the main inputs in industrial production, except energy, remained unchanged or reduced their prices. The federal government, through its inspectors, will examine the producers price lists, particularly of those producers who have a monopoly position in the market, and action will be taken through imports. Yugoslavia is not merely an importer of food. From the beginning of the year, our firms have exported food products worth about $1 billion to world markets.

Oil, Derivatives Taxes Suspended; Affects Revenue

LD2709200590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1759 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC] has decided, because of the exceptionally high price of oil on the world market,which is already two-and-a-half times higher than in the first half of the year, to abolish sales tax on oil and oil derivatives. This reduces the receipts of the federal budget by 3.2 billion dinars to the end of this year. Today's session of the FEC also decided to propose a linear reduction in expenditure in the federal budget.

Government Reviews General Macroeconomic Policy

LD2809082590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0602 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—The inflation rate in September will range from three to three and half percent and to the end of the year will stand at a monthly average of one to one and half percent, the Yugoslav Government estimates in an analysis of implementing the macroeconomic policy, submitted to the Federal Assembly.

In order to achieve the estimated movement of inflation to the end of the year, the monetary policy, salaries and public spending must be brought down to stabilization frameworks, the government warns.

The cabinet of Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic specifies that the money supply in the last quarter of the year should be cut by one billion dinars (around 11 million dollars) so that its amount would not exceed 76.2 billion dinars (around 6.9 billion dollars).

The fixed rate of exchange of the dinar in terms of the Deutsche mark, which stands at 7 dinars to one mark, will not be changed to the end of the year and remains the foundation of the government program of reforms. In its reply to comments that the dinar is overvalued and for this reason exporters are not stimulated to export their goods, the government says that exports will be assisted by other measures.

Drnovsek on Future National Configuration

AU2809080090 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Sep 90 p 14

[Unattributed TANJUG report: "The Political Motives of Champions of a Confederation"]

[Text] Brdo kod Kranja, 21 September—The transformation of Yugoslavia, which is now being discussed in different contexts, should not have an effect on the economic situation in the country, nor should it make this situation worse. This is the view of Janez Drnovsek, member of the SFRY Presidency, who took part today in the work of an international conference on the future of European business.

Replying to numerous questions, the SFRY Presidency member stressed, among other things, that all variations of the future of Yugoslavia are being discussed equally without any particular one being pushed forward.

The aim is to find a solution which will strike a new balance between the Yugoslav nations and republics and which will put an end to the present tensions.

In reply to a question on what would remain of state functions at the level of the confederation if this is the variation that is chosen, Drnovsek said—mentioning that all this was still unclear—that the economic functions would probably remain. This could mean a unified market, money, and monetary system, although it has been heard that this could also be monetary union. Observing that any disintegration is painful, he explained that the motives of the champions of the confederal variant are more political. This involves demands for political sovereignty in order to independently make political decisions—including those regarding military issues, as well as independent international representation—although this would also be coordinated at the confederal level.

In reply to the question, How good is a referendum at finding out what the citizens want? Drnovsek said that views differed and that it was thought in Croatia and Slovenia that this should be found out in multiparty parliaments. There have been proposals for both ways to be implemented in parallel, which, however, is still being discussed, Janez Drnovsek underscored.

Consequences of Rifts Within Opposition Viewed

AU2809080190 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Sep 90 p 3

[Branko Podgornik commentary: "Party Currents"]

[Text] The rifts in the political parties in the Yugoslav region have become so frequent recently that the question has to be asked of where the party ships are sailing, and do these cases have anything in common. The Party of Democratic Action of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Democratic Party of Montenegro have split, and a rift in the Democratic Party of Serbia has also been hinted at.

In the Party of Democratic Action, a by-all-accounts irreconcilable conflict has come to the surface between the traditional, somewhat religiously inspired current of Alija Izetbegovic, and the more modern one of Adil Zulfikarpasic and Dr. Muhamed Filipovic, who want to rally together Muslims on a modern bourgeois basis. A rift has been hinted at in the Democratic Party of Serbia between those who give priority to the nation and those who see democracy before anything else. Something, therefore, links these two parties.

It is indicative that the Democratic Party of Montenegro has also recently split in two. The part that will continue to bear this name is committed to democracy and Montenegrin sovereignty. It has been heard that the current that has been "ejected" from the Montenegrin Democratic Party wants to link with the nationally inclined wing of the Democratic Party of Serbia. It is, therefore, already being said that the main issue in Montenegro during the election campaign will in fact be attitudes toward Montenegrin sovereignty. In this republic, too, a center is being increasingly clearly formed which is made up of bourgeois-oriented national parties, which is probably characteristic of all three cases.

The majority of political parties in this region have virtually nothing in common with the parties in developed parliamentarian democracies, apart from the fact that they generally exist and have similar names. Indeed, they will immediately find a reason for this: It is difficult to find a country in the West which is like Yugoslavia, in which the overwhelming presence of issues regarding the state structure overshadows everything else.

The parties here, therefore, gain most political capital from their stands on the position of their state or the largest nation in it in the future Yugoslavia or in what remains of it. These stands seem to be the main thing that differentiates them.

The situation was similar at election time in Croatia. Nowadays, however, when most parties are committed to or accept Croatian sovereignty, they are beginning to be more clearly differentiated according to whether sovereignty should be built on negotiating with others in Yugoslavia or whether one's own state should be created by force. Indeed, those more rare parties which do not accept the sovereignty of republic-states think that the Yugoslav mantel should be tailored first and then the fate of its individual parts determined.

Thus, we arrive at that frequently mentioned conclusion that the door will be held more widely ajar to democracy and human rights in the Yugoslavia region only when new states are created through an agreement. In this context, it seems that those bourgeois-oriented parties in the east of the country do not exactly have too many chances at the multiparty elections—like those in the Coalition of National Accord in Croatia—in contrast to the populist parties which determine the basic tone of political circumstances.

Sarajevo Poll Shows Markovic's Party in Lead

AU2709112690

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian on 21 September on page 5 carries the 2,000-report by report by R.Z. and S.N. on the results of a public opinion poll on upcoming elections carried out by a Sarajevo research agency Alfa with the financial help of the OSSA [expansion unknown] marketing agency under the title "Ante Markovic's Party—Favorite."

Alfa's poll was carried out in Sarajevo and "involves 872 people of which 365 are Muslims, 253 Serbs, 77 Croats, 161 Yugoslavs, and 16 members of other nationalities. The poll took into account the sex, social, professional, and educational structure of the respondents who consisted of young people, workers, students, unemployed, housewives, and pensioners."

The results of the poll are presented in three bar charts as follows:

Table 1. Which party will you vote for? (in percentages)

1. Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia	25.9
2. Party of Democratic Action	11.9
3. League of Communists - Social Democratic Party	8.6
4. Serbian Democratic Party	8.3
5. Socialist Alliance of Youth	2.3
6. Croatian Democratic Community	1.5
7. Party of Yugoslavs	1.1
8. Greens Party	0.8
9. Do not know	15.8
10. Will not vote	23.6

Table 2. "Loyalty to National Parties" (in percentages)

1. Serbs voting for the Serbian Democratic Party	28.4
2. Muslims voting for the Party of Democratic Action	28.2
3. Croats voting for the Croatian Democratic Community	11.7

Table 3. Who will you vote for? (in percentages)

1. For non-national parties	38.9
2. Will not vote	23.6
3. National parties	21.7
4. Do not know, but will vote	15.8